

DÎNÂ-Î MAÎNÔG-Î KHIRAD,

OR

OPINIONS

OF THE

SPIRIT OF WISDOM.

OBSERVATIONS

1. The division into chapters corresponds with the beginnings of the questions, and the sections are divided according to the alternating Pâzand-Sanskrit text of Nêryôsang.

2. Italics are used for any English words that are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Italics occurring in Oriental words, or names, represent certain peculiar Oriental letters (see the 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets' at the end of this volume). The italic *d*, *l*, *n*, *r*, *v* may be pronounced as in English; but *g* should be sounded like *j*, *hv* like *wh*, *k* like *ch* in 'church,' *s* like *sh*, and *z* like French *j*.

4. In Pahlavi words the only vowels expressed in the original text are those circumflexed, initial *a*, and the letter *ô*; italic *d* is written like *t*, *r* and *l* like *n* or the Avesta *o*, *v* and *z* like *g*, and *sd* like *â* in the Pahlavi character.

5. In the translation, words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those which precede them.

6. For the meanings of the abbreviations used in the notes, see the end of the Introduction.

7. The manuscripts mentioned are :—

K43 (written A.D. 1569) Pahlavi, No. 43 in the University Library at Kopenhagen; upon the text of which, so far as it extends, this translation is based.

L19 (written A.D. 1520) Pâz.-Sans., No. 19 in the India Office Library at London.

MH7 (written A.D. 1809) Pârsi-Pers., No. 7 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

MH10, a Persian Rivâyât, No. 10 of the same Collection.

PA10 (written A.D. 1649) Pâz.-Sans., No. 10 of the Anquetil Collection in the National Library at Paris.

PB6, Pâz.-Sans., No. 6 of the Burnouf Collection in the same library.

TD2, Pahlavi, belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Ankle-saria at Bombay; upon a copy of which this translation chiefly relies in the passages (XIV, 1-XXVII, 49 and XXXIX, 31-XL, 17) missing from K43.

DÎNÂ-Î MAÎNÔG-Î KHIRAD.

THROUGH the name and power and assistance of the creator Aûharmazd, the archangels *who are* good rulers and good performers, and all the angels of the spiritual and the angels of the worldly *existences*, by a happy dispensation (*dahisn*) and well-omened we write the Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom through the will of the sacred beings¹.

CHAPTER I².

[1. In the name and *for* the propitiation of the all-benefiting creator Aûharmazd, (2) of all the angels of the spiritual and worldly creations, (3) *and* of the learning of learnings, the Mazda-worshipping

¹ This heading is prefixed to the original Pahlavi text in K₄₃, a facsimile of which was published by Andreas in 1882; as, however, the text which follows it, in that codex, begins in the middle of Chap. I, 28, this heading must have been composed by some copyist, after the first folio of the text had been lost from some previous copy. It is, therefore, doubtful whether the name he gives to the work, 'Opinions (or decisions) of the Spirit of Wisdom,' be the original title, or not; but it is, at any rate, preferable to the modern appellation, 'the Spirit of Wisdom.' In Pâzand this title is Mainyô-i Khard; but regarding the Pahlavi word maînôg, see the Introduction.

² The beginning of this chapter, enclosed in brackets, as far as § 28 (being lost from the Pahlavi text of K₄₃, and no copy of it from TD₂ being available) is here taken from the Pâzand version contained in L₁₉. The division into sections, adopted throughout, is that of the alternating Pâz.-Sans. text of Nêryôsang.

religion, (4) forth from which this, *which is* such a source of wisdom, is a selector¹. 5. Through the glory and will of the creator Aûharmazd—who is promoting the prosperity of the two existences²—(6) and of all the greatly powerful angels, (7) and *through* the completely calm repose of the sacred beings, the princely³, purpose-fulfilling sages, (8) presentations of various novelties for the appropriation of wisdom, (9) through largely acquiring reasoning thought⁴, are most wholesome for the body and soul *in* the two existences.

10. As in the pure marvel of marvels, the unquestionable and well-betokened good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, by the words of the creator, Aûharmazd, and Zaratûst the Spitamân⁵, it is in

¹ That is, this work is a selection of wisdom from the religion. The Pâz. vas is a misreading of Pahl. agas, 'from it,' which is identical in form with Pahl. afas, the correct equivalent of Pâz. vas.

² This world and the next.

³ The angels are here compared to the vâspûharakân, the highest class of Sasanian nobles, called barbêtân, 'sons of the house,' in Huzvâris (see Nöldeke's *Gesch. Pers. Sas.* pp. 71, 501). As these nobles ranked next to the royal house, so do the archangels and angels rank next to Aûharmazd. The title vâspûhar is evidently connected with the ancient Pers. equivalent of Av. vîsô puthra, 'son of the village or town,' which, as Darmesteter points out (*Études Iranienues*, II, p. 140), is used in Vend. VII, 114 as the title of a person who has to pay the same medical fees as the zantû-paiti, 'tribe-ruler,' mentioned in the earlier § 108, and who must, therefore, have been a man of equal rank.

⁴ Reading vîrmat, both here and in § 13, instead of the Pâz. nîrmað, which is a misreading of the same letters.

⁵ Av. Zarathustra Spitama, the great apostle of the Mazda-worshippers, whose conversations with Ahura Mazda (Pahl. Aûharmazd) constitute a considerable portion of the Avesta, or scripture of the Mazda-worshippers.

many places decided, (11) that he, who is the all-good creator, created these creatures through wisdom, (12) and his maintenance of the invisible revolutions¹ is through wisdom; (13) and the imperishable and undisturbed *state*, in that which is immortality *for* ever and everlasting, he reserves for himself by means of the most deliberative² means of wisdom. 14. For the same reason *it* is declared, (15) that *there* was a sage who said, (16) that 'if this be known, that the religion of the sacred beings (*yazdân*) is truth, and *its* law is virtue, and *it* is desirous of welfare and compassionate as regards the creatures, (17) wherefore are *there* mostly many sects, many beliefs, and many original evolutions³ of mankind?' 18. And, especially, that which is a sect, law, and belief, causing harm to the property (*khêl*) of the sacred beings⁴, and is not good? 19, 20⁵. And this, too, *one has* to consider, that, in order to become a chooser in this matter, trouble is to be undergone; (21) and it is necessary to become acquainted with this matter, (22) because, in the end, the body is mingled with the dust, and reliance is on the soul. 23. And every one is to undergo trouble for the soul, (24) and is to become acquainted with duty and good works; (25) because that good work which a man does unwittingly is little of a good work, (26) and that sin which a man

¹ Of the spheres, or firmaments, which are supposed to carry along the heavenly bodies.

² Reading *vîrmat-hômandtûm*.

³ Reading *bûn gâst* (see Sg. IV. 73 n.).

⁴ It may be questioned whether this allusion to a heterodox religion injuring the property of the orthodox faith is sufficient to identify the former with Muhammadanism.

⁵ These two sections are improperly separated by *Nêryôsang*.

commits unwittingly amounts to a sin in *its* origin¹.
 27. And *it* is declared by the Avesta² (28) thus :]
³“Nothing *was* taken by him by whom the soul
was not taken (29) hitherto, and he takes nothing
 who does not take the soul (30) henceforward
 likewise⁴; (31) because the spiritual and worldly
existences are such-like as⁵ two strongholds, (32) one
it is declared certain that they shall capture, and
 one it is not possible to capture.”’

33. After *being* replete *with* those good actions
*of*⁶ which *it* is declared certain that it is not possible
 to capture, (34) and when he⁷ surveyed the
 incitement for this, (35) he started forth (fravaftö),
 in search of wisdom, into the various countries and
 various districts of this world; (36) and of the
 many⁸ religions and beliefs of those people who
 are superior in their wisdom he thought and en-
 quired, and he investigated and came upon *their*
 origin⁹. 37. And when he saw that they are so
 mutually afflicting (hanbêshin) and inimical among

¹ The original text was, no doubt, vinâs pavan bûn va/ yehe-
 vûnêd, which would be gunâh pa bun ô bahôd in Pâzand; but
 L19 has omitted the p in pa, and Nêr. has mistaken the preposi-
 tion va/ for the pronoun valman, which blunders have misled the
 writers of later MSS. into a variety of inconsistent readings.

² The sacred literature of the Parsis in its original language.

³ The extant Pahlavi text; of K43 commences at this point.

⁴ By this division of §§ 28–30 Nêr. found himself compelled to
 add another Sanskrit clause in explanation, which would have been
 unnecessary if he had separated them as here pointed.

⁵ K43 omits ‘as.’

⁶ L19 has ‘after those good actions of a store.’

⁷ The sage mentioned in § 15.

⁸ L19 has ‘every.’

⁹ L19 omits ‘origin,’ having merely vagôst, ‘investigated,’
 instead of bun gûstö, ‘investigated the origin.’

one another, (38) he then knew that these religions and beliefs and diverse customs, which are so mutually afflicting among one another in this world, are not worthy to be from the appointment of the sacred beings; (39) because the religion of the sacred beings is truth, and *its* law is virtue. 40. And through this he became without doubt that, *as to* whatever¹ is not in this pure religion, *there* is then doubtfulness for them in everything, (41) and in every cause they see distraction.

42. After that he became more diligent in the enquiry and practice of religion; (43) and he enquired of the high-priests who have become wiser in² this religion and more acquainted *with* the religion, (44) thus: 'For the maintenance of the body *and* preservation of the soul what thing³ is good and more perfect?'

45. And they [spoke⁴], through the statement [from revelation, (46) thus: 'Of the⁵ benefit which happens to men] wisdom is good; (47) because it is possible to manage the worldly *existence* through wisdom⁶, (48) and it is possible to provide also the spiritual *existence* for oneself through the power of wisdom. 49. And this, too, is declared, that Aûhar-mazd has produced these creatures and creation, which are in the worldly *existence*, through innate

¹ L19 has 'every one who,' having read *ko/â mûn* instead of *ko/â maman*. The meaning, however, is that all details of foreign faiths that are not found in the Mazda-worshipping religion are doubtful.

² K43 has 'of,' by omitting *pavan*, 'in.'

³ L19 has 'what one thing.'

⁴ K43 omits the words in brackets, by mistake.

⁵ Sans. has 'this.'

⁶ L19 has 'through the power of wisdom.'

wisdom¹; (50) and the management of the worldly and spiritual *existences* is also through wisdom.'

51. And when, in that manner, he saw the great advantage and preciousness of wisdom, he became more thankful unto Aûharmazd, the lord, and the archangels of² the spirit of wisdom; (52) and he took³ the spirit of wisdom as a protection. 53. For the spirit of wisdom *one* is to perform more homage and service than *for* the remaining archangels. 54. And this, too, he knew, that it is possible to do for oneself every duty and good work and proper action through the power of wisdom; (55) and it is necessary to be diligent for the satisfaction of the spirit of wisdom. 56. And, thenceforward, he became more diligent in performing⁴ the ceremonial of the spirit of wisdom.

57. After that the spirit of wisdom, on account of the thoughts and wishes of that sage, displayed *his* person unto him. 58. And he spoke to him (59) thus: 'O friend *and* glorifier! good from perfect righteousness! (60) seek advancement from me, the spirit of wisdom, (61) that I may become thy guide to the satisfaction of the sacred beings and

¹ The âsnô khiraðō (Av. âsnô khratus) is 'the durable or innate wisdom' supposed to be implanted in one's nature, as distinguished from the Av. gaoshô-srûtô khratus, 'the ear-heard or acquired wisdom,' obtained by experience.

² That is, 'produced by' this spirit, as mentioned in § 49 regarding the world, and here extended to the archangels. L19 omits the particle î, so as to convert this spirit into the wisdom of Aûharmazd and the archangels. It is very probable, however, that we ought to read 'and the spirit of wisdom.'

³ L19 has 'made;' these two verbs being written alike in Huzvâris

⁴ L19 has 'to perform,' by omitting 'in.'

the good¹, and *to* the maintenance of the body in the worldly *existence* and the preservation of the soul in the spiritual *one*.'

CHAPTER II.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How is it possible to seek the maintenance and prosperity of the body [without injury of the soul, and the preservation of the soul without injury of the body²]?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Him who is less than thee consider as an equal, and an equal as a superior, (5) and a greater than him as a chieftain³, and a chieftain as a ruler. 6. And among rulers *one* is to be acquiescent, obedient, and true-speaking; (7) *and* among accusers⁴ be submissive, mild, and kindly regardful.

8. 'Commit no slander; (9) so that infamy and wickedness *may* not happen unto thee. 10. For it is said (11) that slander is more grievous than witchcraft; (12) and in hell the rush of every fiend⁵ is to the front, *but* the rush of the fiend of slander, on account of the grievous sinfulness, is to the rear.

13. 'Form no covetous desire; (14) so that the

¹ Meaning, specially, the priests.

² The passage in brackets is omitted by K43, and is here supplied from L19.

³ In L19 the text is corrupt, but has nearly the same meaning.

⁴ L19 has 'associates,' which seems equally appropriate; the two words are much alike in Pahlavi writing.

⁵ The word *drûg*, 'fiend,' is usually supposed to mean a female demon, and is often understood so in the Avesta, perhaps because it is a feminine noun. It is usually an impersonation of some evil passion (see Chap. XLI, 11).

demon of greediness *may* not deceive thee, (15) and the treasure of the world *may* not be tasteless to thee, and that of the spirit unperceived.

16. 'Indulge in no wrathfulness; (17) for a man, when he indulges in wrath, becomes then forgetful of his duty and good works, of prayer and the service of the sacred beings, (18) and sin and crime of every kind occur unto his mind, and¹ until the subsiding of the wrath (19) he² is said *to be* just like Aharman³.

20. 'Suffer no anxiety; (21) for he who is a sufferer of anxiety becomes regardless of enjoyment of the world and the spirit, (22) and contraction happens to his body and soul.

23. 'Commit no lustfulness; (24) so that harm and regret *may* not reach thee from thine own actions.

25. 'Bear no improper envy; (26) so that thy life *may* not become tasteless.

27. 'Commit no sin on account of [disgrace]⁴; (28) because happiness and adornment⁵, celebrity (khanîdîh) and dominion, skill and suitability are not through the will and action of men, but through the appointment, destiny, and will of the sacred beings.

29. 'Practise no sloth; (30) so that the duty and good work, which it is necessary for thee to do, *may* not remain undone.

31. 'Choose a wife who is of character; (32)

¹ L19 omits 'and.'

² L19 has 'wrath;' making § 19 a separate sentence.

³ The evil spirit, Av. angra mainyu.

⁴ K43 omits 'disgrace,' by mistake.

⁵ L19 omits 'adornment.'

because that *one* is good who in the end is more respected.

33. 'Commit no unseasonable chatter¹; (34) so that grievous distress *may* not happen unto Horvadaḍ and Amerodaḍ, the archangels², through thee.

35. 'Commit no running about uncovered³; (36) so that harm *may* not come upon thy bipeds and quadrupeds, and ruin upon *thy* children.

37. 'Walk not with one boot⁴; (38) so that grievous distress *may* not happen to thy soul.

¹ A free translation of the name of the sin which is usually called drâyân-gûyisnîh, 'eagerness for chattering'; here, however, K₄₃ omits the latter y, so that the name may be read drâyân-gaîsnîh, 'chatteringly devouring,' and a similar phrase is used in AV. XXIII, 6. The sin consists in talking while eating, praying, or at any other time when a murmured prayer (vâg) has been taken inwardly and is not yet spoken out; the protective spell of the prayer being broken by such talking. If the prayer be not taken inwardly when it ought to be, the same sin is incurred (see Sls. V, 2, Dd. LXXIX, 8).

² Instead of amahrâspend, 'the archangel,' L₁₉ has Mâr-spend, the angel of the 'righteous liturgy;' but this is probably a misreading, due to the fact that, when the chattering interrupts prayer, the angel of the liturgy would be as much distressed as the archangels Horvadaḍ and Amerodaḍ, who protect water and vegetation (see Sls. XV, 25-29), would be when it interrupts eating and drinking. These archangels are personifications of Av. haurvatâḍ, 'completeness or health,' and ameretâḍ, 'immortality.'

³ That is, moving about without being girded with the Kustî or sacred thread-girdle, which must not be separated from the skin by more than one thin garment, the sacred shirt (see Sls. IV, 7, 8).

⁴ We should probably read 'without a boot,' as aê-mûkô and amûkô are much alike in Pahlavi; otherwise we must suppose that walking with only a single covering for the feet, and without outer boots, is meant. At any rate, walking or standing on unconsecrated ground with bare feet is a serious sin for a Parsi on account of the risk of pollution (see Sls. IV, 12, X, 12).

39. 'Perform no discharge of urine (*pêšâr-vâr*) *standing* on foot¹; (40) so that thou mayst not become a captive by a habit of the demons, (41) and the demons may not drag thee to hell on account of that sin.

42. 'Thou shouldst be (*yehevûnes*) diligent and moderate, (43) and eat of thine own regular industry, (44) and provide the share of the sacred beings and the good; (45) and, thus, the practice of this, in thy occupation, is the greatest good work.

46. 'Do not extort from the wealth of others; (47) so that thine own regular industry *may* not become unheeded. 48. For it is said (49) that: "He who eats anything, not from his own regular industry, but from another, is such-like as *one* who holds a human head in *his* hand, and eats human brains."

50. 'Thou shouldst be an abstainer from the wives of others; (51) because all these three would become disregarded by thee, alike wealth, alike² body, and alike² soul.

52. 'With enemies fight with equity. 53. With a friend proceed with the approval of friends. 54. With a malicious³ man carry on no conflict, (55) and do not molest him in any way whatever. 56. With a greedy man thou shouldst not be a partner, (57) and do not trust him with the leadership. 58. With

¹ Whereby an unnecessary space of ground is polluted; hence the sin.

² K43 has *hômanam*, 'I am,' the *Huzvârîs* of *am*, used by mistake for *ham*, 'alike,' which is written exactly like *am* in Pahlavi.

³ K43 has *kîkvar*, instead of *kênvar*, but this is doubtless a miswriting.

a slanderous man do not go to the door of kings. 59. With an ill-famed man form no connection. 60. With an ignorant man thou shouldst not become a confederate and associate. 61. With a foolish man make no dispute. 62. With a drunken man do not walk on the road. 63. From an ill-natured man take no loan.

64. 'In thanksgiving unto the sacred beings, and worship, praise, ceremonies, invocation, and performing the learning of knowledge thou shouldst be energetic and life-expending. 65. For it is said (66) that: "In aid of the contingencies (*gahisnō*)¹ among men wisdom is good; (67) in seeking renown and preserving the soul liberality is good; (68) in the advancement of business and justice complete mindfulness is good; (69) and in the statements of those who confess (*khûstivân*)², with a bearing on the custom of the law³, truth is good. 70. In the progress of business energy is good, (71) for⁴ every one to become confident therein steadfastness is good, (72) and for the coming of benefit thereto thankfulness is good. 73. In keeping oneself untroubled (*anaîrang*)⁵ the discreet speaking which is in the path of⁶ truth is good; (74) and in keeping away the disturbance of the destroyer⁷ from oneself employment is good. 75.

¹ L19 has *zahiśn*, 'issue, proceedings.'

² L19 has read *aîstikân*, 'the steadfast,' by mistake.

³ Reading *dâḍō-khûk-barisnōihâ*. L19 has 'conveying intercession (*gâdaṅgô=dâḍō-gôk*);' this small difference in reading may be a clerical error in K43. The Sans. version omits the phrase altogether.

⁴ L19 omits *pavan*, 'for.'

⁵ Nêr. has 'unblemished.'

⁶ L19 omits 'path of;' and it may possibly be superfluous.

⁷ Or it may be 'the destroyer and adversary,' as in L19; the last word being defective in K43.

Before rulers and kings discreet speaking is good, and in¹ an assembly good recital; (76) among friends repose and rational friends² are good; (77) and with an associate to one's own deeds the giving of advantage (sûkõ) is good. 78. Among those greater than one (agas masân) mildness and humility are good, (79) and among those less than one flattery³ and civility are good. 80. Among doers of deeds speaking of thanks and performance of generosity are good; (81) and among those of the same race the formation of friendship (hûmânõih)⁴ is good. 82. For bodily health moderate eating and keeping the body in action are good; (83) and among the skilled in thanksgiving performance is good. 84. Among chieftains unanimity and seeking advantage are good; (85) among those in unison and servants good behaviour and an exhibition of awe are good; (86) and for having little trouble in oneself contentment is good. 87. In chieftainship to understand thoroughly the good in *their* goodness and the vile in *their* vileness is good; *and* to make the vile unseen, through retribution⁵, is good. 88. In every place and time to restrain oneself from sin and to be diligent in meritorious work are good; (89) and every day to consider *and* keep in remembrance Aûharmazd, as regards creativeness, and Aharman, as regards destructiveness, is good. 90. *And* for dishonour not to come unto one a knowledge of oneself is good." 91. All these are proper

¹ L19 omits pavan, 'in.'

² L19 has 'friendship.'

³ Or 'adaptation.'

⁴ L19 has humatî, 'good intention.'

⁵ L19 has 'to cause the reward of the good and the punishment of the vile.'

and true and of the same description, (92) but occupation and guarding the tongue (*pâd-hûzvânîh*)¹ above everything.

93. 'Abstain far from the service of idols² and demon-worship. 94. Because *it* is declared (95) that : "If Kaî-Khûsrôî³ should not have extirpated the idol-temples (*aûgdês-kâr*) which *were* on the lake of *Kêkâst*⁴, then in these three millenniums of *Hûshêdar*, *Hûshêdar-mâh*, and *Sôshâns*⁵—of whom one of them comes separately at the end of each millennium, who arranges again all⁶ the affairs of the world, and utterly destroys the breakers of promises and servers of idols who are in the realm—the adversary⁷ would have become so much more violent, that it would not have been possible to produce the resurrection and future existence."

96. 'In forming a store⁸ of good works thou

¹ L19 has 'preserving pure language.'

² More correctly 'temple-worship,' as *aûgdês* means 'an erection.'

³ Av. Kavi Husravangh, the third of the Kayân kings, who reigned sixty years, and was the grandson of his predecessor, Kâî-Ûs, and son of Sîyâvakhsh (see Bd. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7).

⁴ The present Lake Urumiyah according to Bd. XXII, 2. This feat of Kaî-Khûsrôî is also mentioned in Bd. XVII, 7, and his exploits in the same neighbourhood are stated in Âbân Yt. 49, 50, Gôsr Yt. 18, 21, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 41, 42; but it is possible that the Avesta name, *Kêkâsta*, may have been transferred to Lake Urumiyah in later times.

⁵ The three future apostles who are supposed to be sons of Zaratûst, whose births have been deferred till later times (see Bd. XXXII, 8). Their Avesta names are *Ukhshyad-ereta*, *Ukhshyad-nemangh*, and *Saoshyûs*.

⁶ L19 omits 'all.'

⁷ The evil spirit.

⁸ L19 has 'in always doing;' having read *hamvâr*, 'always,' instead of *ambâr*, 'a store.'

shouldst be diligent, (97) so that it *may* come to *thy*¹ assistance among the spirits.

98. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through any happiness of the world; (99) for the happiness of the world is such-like as a cloud that comes on a rainy day, which one does not ward off by any hill.

100. 'Thou shouldst not be *too* much arranging the world; (101) for the world-arranging man becomes spirit-destroying.

102. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through much treasure and wealth; (103) for in the end it is necessary for thee to leave all.

104. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through predominance; (105) for in the end it is necessary for thee to become non-predominant.

106. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through respect and reverence; (107) for respectfulness does not assist in the spiritual *existence*.

108. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through great connections and race; (109) for in the end *thy*² trust is on thine own deeds.

110. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through life; (111) for death comes upon thee³ *at* last, (112) the dog and the bird lacerate the corpse⁴, (113) and the perishable *part* (*segînakö*)⁵ falls to the ground. 114. During three days⁶ and nights

¹ K43 omits 'thy.'

² L19 omits 'thy.'

³ L19 omits 'thee.'

⁴ Referring to the mode of disposing of the dead adopted by the Parsis (see Sls. II, 6n., Dd. XV, 5, XVII, 17, XVIII, 2-4).

⁵ L19 has *ast*, 'bone.'

⁶ Including the day of death. The fate of the soul after death, as detailed in §§ 114-194, is also described in Vend. XIX, 90-112, Hn. II, III, Aog. 8-19, AV. IV-XI, XVII.

the soul sits at the crown of the head of the body¹. 115. And the fourth day, in the light of dawn—with the co-operation of Srôsh the righteous, Vâê the good, and Vâhrâm the strong², the opposition of Astô-vidâd³, Vâê the bad⁴, Frazistô the demon, and Nizistô the demon⁵, and the evil-designing action of Aeshm⁶, the evil-doer, the impetuous assailant—

¹ Reciting a passage from the Gâthas or sacred hymns (see Hn. II, 4, 5, III, 3, 4, AV. IV, 9-11, XVII, 6, 7).

² These three angels are personifications of Av. sraosha, 'listening, obedience,' vaya or vayu, 'the upper air (uncontaminated by the evil spirit),' and verethraghna, 'victorious, triumphant'; the last is more literally 'demon-smiting,' that is, 'smiting Verethra (the demon),' Sans. *vr̥trahan*.

³ Av. Astô-vidhōtu, 'the bone-dislocator,' or demon of death who binds the parting soul (see Vend. V, 25, 31); in later writings, such as the Book of Dâdâr bin Dâd-dukht, he is said to throw a noose over the neck of the soul to drag it to hell, but if its good works have exceeded its sins, it throws off the noose and goes to heaven; and this noose is also mentioned in Bd. III, 22, Dd. XXIII, 3. In Bd. XXVIII, 35 this demon is said to be the same as the bad Vâê, but all other authorities consider them as distinct beings. It may be noted that a different demon of death is usually mentioned when the soul is wicked (see § 161).

⁴ Av. vaya or vayu, 'the lower air (vitiated by the evil spirit).' Just as the wind (*vâd*) may be either an angel or a demon, according as its strength makes it a refreshing breeze or a violent hurricane, so may the air be a good or evil being, according as it retains its original purity or has been vitiated by the evil spirit. That the angel Vâê is the upper air appears from its epithet *uparô-kairya*, 'working aloft,' in the Râm Yt.; and that it is only the lower air that is vitiated by the evil spirit is in accordance with the division of the sky into three thirds, of which the uppermost is inaccessible to the evil spirit (see Dd. XXXVII, 24-31). But this distinction between a good and bad Vâê is not made in Vend. V, 25, 31, where we are told that Vayô conveys the soul when bound by Astô-vidhōtu.

⁵ These two demons have not been recognised elsewhere.

⁶ The demon of wrath, Av. Aêshmô daêva, appears to be the Asmodeus of the Book of Tobit.

[it goes]¹ up to the awful, lofty *Kīndvar*² bridge, to which every one, righteous and wicked, is coming³. 116. And many opponents have watched there, (117) with the desire of evil of Aeshm, the impetuous assailant, and of Astô-vidâd who devours creatures of every kind and knows no satiety, (118) and the mediation of Mitro⁴ and Srôsh and Rashnû, (119) and the weighing of Rashnû, the just, (120) with the balance⁵ of the spirits, which renders no favour (*hû-girâi*) on any side⁶, neither for the righteous nor yet the wicked, neither for the lords nor yet the monarchs. 121. As much as a hair's breadth it will not turn, and has no partiality; (122) and he who is a lord and monarch⁷ it considers equally, in its decision, with him who is the least of mankind.

123. 'And when a soul of the righteous passes upon that bridge, the width of the bridge becomes as it were a league (*parasang*)⁸, (124) and the

¹ K43 omits this verb.

² Or, perhaps, *Kīngvar*, a partial translation of Av. *Kīnvad* (*gv* being a mispronunciation of *v* or *w*, as in *gvâd* for *vâd*, 'wind'; and Pers. *var* translating Av. *vad*). The Pâzand writers have *Kandôr*. It is the bridge of ever-varying breadth which leads to heaven (see Vend. XIX, 100, 101, AV. III, 1, IV, 7, V, 1, 2, XVII, 1, Bd. XII, 7, Dd. XX, XXI), but it is not mentioned in Hn.

³ Literally, 'is a comer.'

⁴ The angel of the sun's light; being a personification of friendship and good faith he is specially concerned in calling the soul to account (see Dd. XIV, 3).

⁵ In which the actions of men are weighed by Rashnû, the angel of justice, to ascertain whether the good or the evil preponderate.

⁶ L19 has 'who makes no unjust balance of the spirits on either side.'

⁷ K43 adds *rad*, 'master,' but this is evidently an abortive beginning of the next word, *levatman*, which has been left unerased.

⁸ Nine spears (about 126 English feet) in AV. V, 1, Dd. XXI, 5.

righteous soul passes over with the co-operation of Srôsh the righteous. 125. And his own deeds of a virtuous kind¹ come to meet him in the form of a maiden, (126) who is handsomer and better than every maiden in the world.

127. 'And the righteous soul speaks (128) thus: "Who mayst thou be², that a maiden who is handsomer and better than thee *was* never seen by me in the worldly *existence*?"

129. 'In reply that maiden form responds (130) thus: "I am no maiden, but I am thy virtuous deeds, *thou* youth who *art* well-thinking, well-speaking, well-doing, *and* of good religion! 131. For when thou sawest in the world *him* who performed demon-worship, then thou hast sat down, and thy performance *was* the worship of the sacred beings. 132. And when *it was* seen by thee that *there was* any one who caused oppression and plunder, and distressed *or* scorned a good person, and acquired wealth by crime, then thou keptest back from the creatures their own *risk of* oppression and plunder; (133) the good person *was* also thought of by thee, and lodging and entertainment provided; and alms *were* given by thee *to him* (134) who came forth from near and *him*, too, who *was* from afar; and wealth which *was* due to honesty *was* acquired by thee. 135. And when thou sawest *him* who practised

The parasang is probably used here as an equivalent for Av. bâthra, 'a mile.'

¹ L19 has 'his own virtuous deeds.' The conscience of the soul meets it in the form of a damsel, beautiful in proportion to the goodness of its deeds. In AV. IV, 18-36, Dd. XXIV, 5, XXV, 5 the conscience meets the soul before it attempts the bridge.

² More literally, 'what may be thou?' as the verb is in the third person here, though not so in the similar phrase in § 169.

false justice and taking of bribes, and false evidence *was* given by him, then thou hast sat down, and the recitation of truth and virtue¹ *was* uttered by thee. 136. I am this of thine, the good thoughts, the good words, and the good deeds which *were* thought and spoken and done by thee. 137. For when I have become commendable, I am then made altogether more commendable by thee; (138) when I have become precious, I am then made altogether still more precious by thee; (139) and when I have become glorious, I am then made altogether² still more glorious by thee."

140. 'And when he walks onwards from there, a sweet-scented breeze comes then to meet him, which is more fragrant than all perfume. 141. The soul of the righteous enquires of Srôsh (142) thus: "What breeze is this, that never in the world so fragrant a breeze came into contact with me?"

143. 'Then Srôsh, the righteous, replies to that righteous soul (144) thus: "This breeze is from heaven, which is so fragrant."

145. 'Afterwards, on *his* march, the first step is set³ on *the place of* good thoughts, the second on *that of* good words, the third on *that of* good deeds⁴, (146) and the fourth step reaches up unto the endless light⁵ which is all-radiant. 147. And angels

¹ Meaning probably the recitation of the Avesta texts.

² K43 omits *barâ*, 'quite, altogether,' in this third clause.

³ L19 has 'afterwards, he rests the first step;' but *awar ârâmed*, 'he rests,' is a misreading of *madam khârâm dâd*, 'on the march is set.'

⁴ These are the three lowermost grades of heaven, *hûmat*, *hûkht*, and *hûvarst* (see Chap. VII, 12).

⁵ The highest grade of heaven, where *Aûharmazd* and the angels are supposed to dwell (see Chap. VII, 11).

and archangels of every description come to meet him, (148) and ask tidings from him (149) thus: "How hast thou come, from that which is a perishable, fearful, *and* very miserable existence, to this which is an imperishable existence that is undisturbed, *thou* youth who *art* well-thinking, well-speaking, well-doing, *and* of good religion?"

150. 'Then Aûharmazd, the lord, speaks (151) thus: "Ask ye from him no tidings; for *he* has parted from that which *was* a precious body, and has come by that which is a fearful road. 152. And bring ye unto him the most agreeable of eatables, that which is the midspring butter¹, (153) so that he *may* rest his soul from that bridge of the three nights, unto which he came from Astô-vidâd and the remaining demons²; (154) and seat him upon an all-embellished throne."

155. 'As *it is* declared (156) that: "Unto³ the righteous man⁴ and woman, after passing away⁵, they bring food⁶ of the most agreeable of eatables—

¹ The Maidhyô-zarm rôghan, which is explained in Dd. XXXI, 14 as the spiritual representative of butter made during the Maidhyô-zaremaya, 'mid-verdure,' festival, which was considered the best of the year. This festival is held on the forty-fifth day of the Parsi year, which was about 4th May when the year was fixed to begin at the vernal equinox as described in Bd. XXV, 3-7, 20. The heavenly food which goes by this name is not to be confounded with the Hûsh which is expected to be prepared at the resurrection, from the fat of the ox Hadhayôš and the white Hôšm, for the purpose of making mankind immortal (see Bd. XXX, 25); although some such confusion appears to exist in AV. X. 5. K43 nas rubân, 'soul,' instead of rôghan, 'butter.'

² See §§ 114-123.

³ K43 omits 'unto.'

⁴ Literally, 'male.'

⁵ L19 adds 'from the body and consciousness.'

⁶ Reading kazag, instead of kazad, both here and in the next clause of the sentence. L19 has 'the angels of the spiritual exist-

the food of the angels of the spiritual *existences*—that which is the midspring butter¹; and they seat them down on an all-embellished throne. 157. For ever and everlasting they remain in all glory with the angels of the spiritual *existences* everlastingly.”

158. ‘And when he who is wicked dies, his soul then rushes *about for* three days and nights in the vicinity of the head of that wicked *one*, and sobs² (159) thus: “Whither do I go, and now what do I make³ as a refuge?” 160. And the sin and crime of every kind, that *were* committed by him in the worldly *existence*, he sees with *his* eyes in those three days and nights. 161. The fourth day Vîzaresh⁴, the demon, comes and binds the soul of the wicked with the very evil noose⁵; (162) and with the opposition of Srôsh, the righteous, he leads *it* up to the Kîndvar bridge⁶. 163. Then Rashnû⁷, the just, detects that soul of the wicked through *its* wickedness.

164. ‘Afterwards, Vîzaresh, the demon, takes that

ences bring the most agreeable of eatables,’ by omitting the first kazag, and misreading the second one.

¹ K43 has rûbân again, as in § 152, for rôghan. Although this sentence resembles Hn. II, 38, 39, it is evidently quoted from some other source, as its difference is more striking than its resemblance.

² This verb is Huz. bekhûnêd=Pâz. giryêd, but Nêr. has read bângînêd, ‘laments,’ and has written vâgînez.

³ Or it may be ‘take,’ as these two verbs are written alike in Huzvâris. This exclamation is a quotation from the Gâthas or sacred hymns, being the first line of Yas. XLV, 1.

⁴ The Av. Vîzaresha of Vend. XIX, 94, who carries off the souls of the wicked; he is also mentioned in Bd. XXVIII, 18, Dd. XXXII, 4, 7, XXXVII, 44.

⁵ Reading saryâtar sûlan. L19 has vad band, ‘an evil tie.’

⁶ See § 115.

⁷ See §§ 119, 120.

soul of the wicked, and mercilessly and maliciously beats *and* maltreats *it*. 165. And that soul of the wicked weeps with a loud voice, is fundamentally horrified¹, implores with many supplicating² entreaties, and makes many struggles for life disconnectedly³. 166. Whom⁴—when his struggling and supplication are of no avail whatever, and no one comes to his assistance from the divinities (bagân)⁵, nor yet from the demons—moreover, Vîzaresh, the demon, drags miserably⁶ to the inevitable⁷ hell.

167. 'And then a maiden who is not like unto maidens comes to meet him. 168. And that soul of the wicked speaks to that evil maiden (169) thus: "Who mayst thou be, that never in the worldly *existence was* an evil maiden seen by me, who *was* viler and more hideous than thee?"

170. 'And she⁸ speaks in reply to him (171) thus: "I *am* not a maiden, but I am thy deeds⁹, *thou* monster who *art* evil-thinking, evil-speaking, evil-doing, *and* of evil religion! 172. For even when thou sawest¹⁰ *him* who performed the worship of the sacred beings, still then thou hast sat down, and demon-worship *was* performed by thee, (173) and the demons and fiends *were* served. 174. And also when thou sawest *him* who provided lodging and

¹ Instead of burz-vângîhâ bekhûnêd, bun râmêd, L19 has burzâvandîhâ vâgînêd u vâramêd, 'loudly shrieks and weeps.'

² Reading lâpakō-karîhâ.

³ Instead of apadvandîhâ, L19 has apatûihâ, 'fruitlessly.'

⁴ L19 has 'and.'

⁵ L19 has vehâ, 'the good.'

⁶ Instead of âk-hômandîhâ, L19 has anaomêdîhâ, 'hopelessly.'

⁷ Reading nagirz, but this is uncertain; L19 has azer, 'lower.'

⁸ L19 has 'that evil maiden.'

⁹ L19 has 'evil deeds.'

¹⁰ L19 adds 'in the world.'

entertainment, and gave alms, *for* a good person who came forth from near and *him*, too, who *was* from afar¹, (175) then thou actedst scornfully and disrespectfully *to* the good person, and gave no alms, and even shut up the door. 176. And when thou sawest *him* who practised true justice, took no bribe, gave true evidence, and uttered virtuous recitation, (177) even then thou hast sat down, and false justice *was* practised by thee, evidence *was* given by thee with falsehood, and vicious recitation *was* uttered by thee. 178. I am this of thine, the evil thoughts, the evil words, and the evil deeds which *were* thought and spoken and done by thee. 179. For when I have become uncommendable, I am then made altogether still more uncommendable by thee; (180) when I have become unrespected, I am then made altogether still more unrespected by thee; (181) and when I have sat in an eye-offending² position, I am then made altogether still more really eye-offending (*kashm-kah-îktar-îk*) by thee."

182. 'Afterwards he enters³, the first step on *the place of* evil thoughts, the second on *that of* evil words, the third step on *that of* evil deeds⁴, (183) and the fourth step rushes into the presence of the

¹ In L19 the words 'near' and 'afar' change places.

² Literally, 'eye-consuming,' the reading adopted by Nêr., but, though it gives a satisfactory meaning, it is not quite certain that it represents the Pahlavi text correctly.

³ For *dên vazlûnêd*, 'he goes in,' L19 has *andar zrôved*, indicating that the first letter, *va*, of *vazlûnêd* had been omitted in the Pahl. MS. used by Nêr., which misled him into reading the remaining letters as a new Pâz. verb *zrôved*, as already remarked by Nöldeke in Göt. gel. Anz. 1882, p. 975.

⁴ These are the three uppermost grades of hell, *dûs-hûmat*, *dûs-hûkht*, and *dûs-hûvarst* (see Chap. VII, 20).

wicked evil spirit and the other demons¹. 184. And the demons make ridicule and mockery of him (185) thus: "What was thy trouble and complaint, as regards Aûharmazd, the lord, and the archangels, and the fragrant and joyful heaven, when thou approachedst for a sight of Aharman and the demons and gloomy hell, (186) although we cause thee misery therein and do not pity, and thou shalt see misery of long duration?"

187. 'And the evil spirit shouts to the demons (188) thus: "Ask ye no tidings from him (189) who is parted *from*² that which *was* a precious body, and has come on by that which is a very bad road. 190. But bring ye unto him the foulest and vilest of eatables, the food which is nurtured in hell."

191. 'They bring the poison and venom of³ the snake and scorpion and other noxious creatures that are in hell, (192) and give him to eat. 193. And until the resurrection and future existence he must be in hell, in much misery and punishment of various kinds⁴. 194. Especially that it is possible to eat food there only as though by similitude.⁵'

195. The spirit of innate wisdom spoke to the sage (196) thus: 'This which *was* asked by thee, as to the maintenance of the body *and* concerning the preservation of the soul, is also spoken about by me, and thou art admonished. 197. Be virtuously

¹ In the lowermost grade of hell (see Chap. VII, 21).

² L19 has 'for *he has* parted from,' as in § 151.

³ L19 has 'and.'

⁴ L19 has 'he is in much misery and punishment of kinds worthy of hell.'

⁵ So that starvation is one of the punishments of hell. L19 has 'and especially that the food there can be only like putrid blood.'

assiduous about it, and keep *it* in practice ; (198) for this is thy chief way for the maintenance of the body *and* preservation of the soul.'

CHAPTER III.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Is liberality good, or truth¹, (3) or gratitude², or wisdom, (4) or complete mindfulness³, or contentment ?'

5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus : 'As to the soul *it is* liberality, as to all the world *it is* truth, (7) unto the sacred beings *it is* gratitude, as to a man's self⁴ *it is* wisdom, (8) as to all business *it is* complete mindfulness, and as to the comfort of the body and the vanquishing of Aharman and the demons contentment is good.'

CHAPTER IV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which is a good work *that is* great and good ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'The greatest good work is liberality, and the second is truth and next-of-kin marriage⁵. 5. The third is

¹ K43 has 'or thy truth.' ² L19 has 'or is gratitude good.'

³ L19 has 'or is complete mindfulness good.'

⁴ Literally, 'the body of a man.'

⁵ This was the meaning of the term khvêtûk-das when this work was written, but some centuries ago such marriages were discontinued, and the term was then confined to marriages between first cousins, as at present (see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xviii, app. III).

keeping the season festivals¹, *and* the fourth is *celebrating* all the religious rites². 6. The fifth is the ceremonial of the sacred beings, and the providing of lodging for traders³. 7. The sixth is the wishing of happiness for every one. 8. *And* the seventh is a kind regard for the good⁴.

CHAPTER V.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which land is the happier⁵ ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'That land is the happier, in which a righteous man, who is true-speaking, makes his abode. 5. The second,

¹ Of which there are six, each held for five days. These Gâsân-bârs or Gâhambârs end, respectively, on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year; and when that year was fixed to begin at the vernal equinox, they celebrated the periods of midspring, midsummer, the beginning of autumn, the beginning of winter, midwinter, and the beginning of spring (see Sls. XVIII, 3). In modern times they have been supposed to commemorate the several creations of the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, and man; but this idea must have been borrowed from a foreign source.

² The periodical ceremonies which are obligatory for all Parsis (see Dd. XLIV, 2 n).

³ Literally, 'for the producers of business.'

⁴ That is, for the priests. The Parsi-Persian version divides these good works into nine items, by counting 'next-of-kin marriage' as the third, and 'providing of lodging' as the seventh. For a fuller detail of good works, see Chap. XXXVII.

⁵ This chapter is an imitation of Vend. III, 1-20, where it is stated that the five most pleasing spots on the earth are, first, where a righteous man performs ceremonies; second, where he has built his house and keeps his fire, cattle, family, and retainers; third, where the land is best cultivated; fourth, where most oxen and sheep are produced; and fifth, that which is most manured by oxen and sheep.

in which they make the abode of fires. 6. The third, when oxen and sheep repose upon it. 7. The fourth is uncultivated and uninhabited land when they bring *it* back to cultivation and habitableness. 8. The fifth, from which they extirpate the burrows of noxious creatures. 9. The sixth, on which exist the ceremonies and coming of the sacred beings, and the sitting of the good¹. 10. The seventh, when they make populous that which *was* desolate. 11. The eighth, when from the possession of the bad it comes into the possession of the good. 12. The ninth, when of the produce and yield (*bêdö*) which arise from it they provide the share of the sacred beings, the good, and the worthy. 13. *And the tenth, in which they provide holy-water and ceremonies.*'

CHAPTER VI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which land is the unhappier² ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'That land is the more afflicted, in which hell is formed³.

5. The second, when they slay in it a righteous man who is innocent. 6. The third, for whose sake⁴

¹ That is, the ceremonial precinct where the priests sit to conduct the ceremonies.

² This chapter is an imitation of Vend. III; 21-37, where it is stated that the five most unpleasing spots on the earth are, first, the ridge of Arezûra, on which the demons congregate from the pit of the fiend; second, where most dead dogs and men lie buried; third, where most depositories for the dead are constructed; fourth, where there are most burrows of the creatures of the evil spirit; and fifth, where the family of a righteous man is driven into captivity.

³ Bd. III, 27 states that 'hell is in the middle of the earth.'

⁴ Reading *mûn . . . rûnô-î padas*. Instead of *drûgân rûnô*,

the demons and fiends work. 7. The fourth, in which they construct an idol-temple. 8. The fifth, when a wicked man, who is an evil-doer, makes an abode in it. 9. The sixth, when the interment of a corpse is performed below¹. 10. The seventh, in which a noxious creature has a burrow. 11. The eighth, when from the possession of the good it comes into the possession of the bad. 12. The ninth, when they make desolate that which *was* populous. 13. *And* the tenth, in which they make lamentation and weeping².

CHAPTER VII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How is heaven, and how many? 3. How are the ever-stationary (*hamîstân*), and how many? 4. And how is hell, and how many? 5. What is the decision *about* the righteous in heaven, and from what is *their* happiness? 6. What are the misery and affliction of the wicked in hell? 7. And what and how is the decision *about* those who are among the ever-stationary?'

8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus : 'Heaven is, first, from the star station unto the

Nêr. has read *drûg hanrûnô*, and assumed the last word to be equivalent to Av. *handvarena*, 'concourse;' so as to obtain the meaning, 'in which the demons and the fiend form a congress.' But Av. *handvarena* is Pahl. *ham-dûbârisnîh* (see Pahl. Vend. VII, 137).

¹ Or 'when much interment of corpses is performed,' as it is doubtful whether we ought to read *avîr*, 'much,' or *azîr*, 'below.'

² That is, for the dead. Such outward manifestations of mourning being considered sinful by the Parsis, as they ought to be by all unselfish people who believe in a future existence of happiness.

moon station ; (10) second, from the moon station unto the sun ; (11) *and*, third, from the sun station unto the supreme heaven (garôdmânô), whereon the creator Âûharmazd is seated. 12. Of heaven the first *part* is *that of* good thoughts (hûmatô), the second is *that of* good words (hûkhtô), and the third is *that of* good deeds (hûvarstô).

13. 'The righteous in heaven are undecaying and immortal, unalarmed, undistressed, and undisturbed.

14. And, everywhere¹, they are full of glory, fragrant, and joyful, full of delight and full of happiness. 15.

And, *at* all times, a fragrant breeze and a scent which is like sweet basil come to meet *them*, which are more pleasant than every pleasure, and more fragrant than every fragrance. 16. For them, also, there is no satiety owing to the existence in heaven. 17. And their sitting and walking, perception and enjoyment are with the angels and archangels and the righteous for ever and everlasting.

18. 'Regarding the ever-stationary *it* is declared, that *they are* from the earth¹ unto the star station ; (19) and its affliction for them is then² nothing whatever except cold and heat.

20. 'Of hell the first *part* is *that of* evil thoughts (dûs-hûmatô), the second is *that of* evil words (dûs-hûkhtô), and the third is *that of* evil deeds

¹ Nêr. has 'at all times,' which may be correct, as gâs means both 'time' and 'place.' It should be noticed, however, that the word used in § 15 is damân, which means 'time' only.

² Nêr. has 'their affliction is otherwise,' by mistaking Huz. adînas-sân, 'then its . . . for them,' for a supposed Pâz. ainâsâ, 'otherwise their,' which seems to have no real existence, as wherever he reads ainâ, 'otherwise,' the Pahl. text has adînas, 'then its.'

(dûs-hûvarstô)¹. 21. *With* the fourth step the wicked person arrives at that which is the darkest hell; (22) and they lead him forwards to the vicinity of Aharman, the wicked. 23. And Aharman and the demons, thereupon, make ridicule and mockery of him (24) thus²: "What was thy trouble and complaint, as regards Aûharmazd and the archangels, and the fragrant and joyful heaven, when thou approachedst for a sight of us and gloomy hell, (25) although we cause thee misery therein and do not pity, and thou shalt see misery of long duration?" 26. And, afterwards, they execute punishment and torment of various kinds upon him.

27. 'There is a place³ where, as to cold, *it* is such as that of the coldest frozen⁴ snow. "28. There is a place where, as to heat, *it* is such as that of the hottest and most blazing fire. 29. There is a place where noxious creatures are gnawing them, just as a dog *does* the bones. 30. There is a place where, as to stench, *it* is such that they stagger about (barâ larzênd)⁵ and fall down. 31. And the dark-

¹ These names, as here written, mean literally 'evil good thoughts, evil good words, and evil good deeds,' as if they implied that these places are for those whose best thoughts, words, and deeds are evil; but it is not quite certain that the Pahlavi names are spelt correctly.

² As already stated in Chap. II, 183-186.

³ L19 has 'he is experienced' in §§ 27-30, owing to Nêr. having read dânâk, 'knowing, experienced,' instead of dívâk, 'a place.'

⁴ Literally, 'stone-possessing, stony' if we read sang-dâr, as seems most plausible; but we might read sôkhâr and consider Pers. khasâr or khasar, 'ice,' as a corruption of it, by transposition. L19 has 'ice (yah) and snow.'

⁵ L19 has *be rezend*, 'they vomit up,' which is evidently a misreading.

ness is always such-like as though it is possible for them to seize upon *it* with the hand¹.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How and in what manner *has* Aûharmazd created these creatures and creation? 3. And how and in what manner *were* the archangels and the spirit of wisdom formed and created by him? 4. And how are the demons and fiends [and also the remaining corrupted *ones*]² of Aharman, the wicked, miscreated? [5. How do every good and evil happen which *occur* to mankind and also the remaining creatures?] 6. And is it possible to alter anything which is destined, or not?'

7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus : 'The creator, Aûharmazd, produced these creatures and creation, the archangels and the spirit of wisdom from that which is his own splendour, and with the blessing of unlimited time (zôrvân). 9. For this reason, because unlimited time is undecaying and immortal, painless and hungerless, thirstless and undisturbed; and for ever and everlasting no one is able to seize upon *it*, or to make *it* non-predominant as regards his own affairs.

10. 'And Aharman, the wicked, miscreated the demons and fiends, and also the remaining corrupted

¹ 'Even darkness *which* may be felt' (Ex. x. 21).

² K43 omits the phrase in brackets, as well as § 5; but these passages are supplied from L19, merely substituting *yahidakân*, 'corrupted ones,' as in § 10, for the *vashûdagâ*, 'miscreations,' of L19.

*ones*¹, by his own unnatural intercourse. 11. A treaty of nine thousand winters² in unlimited time (*damân*) *was* also made by him with *Aûharmazd*; (12) and, until it *has* become fully completed, no one is able to alter *it* and to act otherwise. 13. And when the nine thousand years *have* become completed, *Aharman* is quite impotent; (14) and *Srôsh*³, the righteous, will smite *Aeshm*³, (15) *and* *Mitrô*⁴ and unlimited time and the spirit of justice⁵, who deceives no one in anything, and destiny and divine providence⁶ will smite the creatures and creation of *Aharman* of every kind, and, in the end, even *Âzô*⁷, the demon. 16. And every creature and creation of *Aûharmazd* becomes again as undisturbed as those which *were* produced and created by him in the beginning.

¹ Reading *yahidakân*, but it may be *yâtukân*, 'wizards,' though the word requires an additional long vowel to represent either term correctly. L19 has *vashûdagâ*, 'miscreations.'

² According to the *Bundahis*, time consists of twelve thousand years (see Bd. XXXIV, 1). In the beginning *Aûharmazd* created the spiritual prototypes (Bd. I, 8) who remained undisturbed for the first three thousand years, when *Aharman* appeared and agreed to a conflict for the remaining nine thousand years (Bd. I, 18), during the first three of which *Aûharmazd's* will was undisputed, while during the next three *Aharman* is active in interference, and during the last three his influence will diminish till, in the end, it will disappear (Bd. I, 20). The nine thousand years of the conflict were supposed to extend from about B.C. 5400 to A.D. 3600 (see Byt. III, 11 n, 44 n).

³ See Chap. II, 115.

⁴ See Chap. II, 118.

⁵ Probably the angel *Rashnû* (see Chap. II, 118, 119).

⁶ Assuming that the *vâgô-bakhtô* of K43 is equivalent to the *baghô-bakht*, 'divine appointment,' of L19.

⁷ *Av. âzi* of Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 22, Vend. XVIII, 45, 50, *Âstâd Yt.* 1, *âzu* of Yas. LII, 7, and the demon of 'greediness' in Chap. II, 13, 14, XVIII, 5, &c., Bd. XXVIII, 27, and modern Persian, who seems to be a being distinct from *Av. azi*, 'serpent.'

17. 'Every good and the reverse¹ which happen to mankind, and also the other creatures, happen through the seven *planets* and the twelve *constellations*². 18. And those twelve constellations are such as in revelation are³ the twelve chieftains who are on the side of Aûharmazd, (19) *and* those seven planets are called the seven chieftains who are on the side of Aharman. 20. Those seven planets pervert every creature and creation, and deliver *them* up to death and every evil. 21. And, as *it were*, those twelve constellations and seven planets⁴ are organizing and managing the world.

22. 'Aûharmazd' is wishing good, and never approves nor contemplates evil. 23. Aharman is wishing evil, and does not meditate nor approve anything good whatever. 24. Aûharmazd, when he wishes it, is able to alter as regards the creatures of Aharman; and Aharman, too, it is, who, when [he wishes]⁵ it, *can do so* as regards the creatures of Aûharmazd, (25) but *he is only* able to alter so that in the final effect *there may* be no injury of Aûharmazd, (26) because the final victory is Aûharmazd's own. 27. For it is declared, that "the Yim⁶ and

¹ L19 has 'evil.'

² The zodiacal signs.

³ L19 has 'are called in revelation.' The authority, here quoted, was not the Bundahis, because that book speaks of seven chieftains of the constellations opposed to the seven planets (see Bd. V, 1).

⁴ L19 omits 'and seven planets,' but has a blank space at this place in both texts, Pâzand and Sanskrit.

⁵ K43 omits the words in brackets, which may, perhaps, be superfluous in the Pahlavi text.

⁶ Av. Yima or Yima khshaêta of Vend. II, the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmah, some of whose deeds are mentioned in Chap. XXVII, 24-33, Yas. IX, 13-20. He was the third of the Pêrdâd dynasty, and is said to have been perverted by Aharman in his old

Frêdûn¹ and Kât-Ûs² of Aûharmazd are created immortal, (28) and Aharman so altered *them* as is known. 29. And Aharman so contemplated that Bêvarâsp³ and Frâsiyâk⁴ and Alexander⁵ *should* be immortal, (30) *but* Aûharmazd, for great advantage, so altered *them* as that which is declared.”

CHAPTER IX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus :
‘Is it possible to go from region to region⁶, or not?’

age, when he lost the royal glory (see Dd. XXXIX, 16, 17), and was overthrown by the foreign dynasty of Az-i Dahâk.

¹ Av. Thraêtaona, who conquered Az-i Dahâk (see Chap. XXVII, 38-40, Yas. IX, 24-27). He was misled by Aharman into dividing his empire between his three sons, two of whom revolted and slew the third (see Chaps. XXI, 25, XXVII, 42).

² Av. Kava Usan or Kavî Usadhan, the Kai-Kâvûs of the Shâhnâmah, misread Kahôs in Pâzand. He was the second monarch of the Kayân dynasty, and made an unsuccessful attempt to reach heaven, mentioned in Bd XXXIV, 7, to which he may be supposed to have been insigated by Aharman. but he was also unfortunate in many other enterprises.

³ A title of Az-i Dahâk in the Shâhnâmah, literally, ‘with a myriad horses.’ This king or dynasty is said to have conquered Yim and reigned for a thousand years but was overthrown by Frêdûn. In the Avesta (Yas. IX, 25 Âbân Yt. 34 Âf Zahat. 3) Az-i Dahâk, ‘the destructive serpent,’ is described as hazangra-yaokhsti, ‘with a thousand perceptions,’ a term analogous to baêvare spasana, ‘with a myriad glances,’ which is usually applied to Mithra, the angel of the sun. From this latter, if used for the former, bêvarâsp might easily be corrupted.

⁴ Av. Frangrasyan, the Afriasiyâb of the Shâhnâmah, a Tûrânian king who conquered the Irânians for twelve years during the reign of Mânâskihai (see Bd XXXIV, 6).

⁵ Alexander the Great, misread Masangar by Ner.

⁶ The earth is supposed to be divided into seven regions of which the central one is as large as the other six united; two of

3. From what substance is the sky made? 4. And how and in what manner is the mingling of the water in the earth?’

5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus: ‘Without the permission of the sacred beings, or the permission of the demons, it is then¹ not possible for one to go from region to region².

7. ‘The sky is made from the substance of the blood-stone³, such as they also call diamond (al-mâst).

8. ‘And the mingling of the water in the earth is just like the blood in the body of man.’

CHAPTER X.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘Can *there* be any peace and affection whatever of Aharman, the wicked, and his demons and miscreations, with Aûharmazd and the archangels, one with the other, or not?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘*There* cannot be, on any account whatever; (5) because Aharman meditates evil falsehood and its deeds, wrath and malice and discord, (6) and Aûharmazd meditates righteousness and its deeds, good works

the six lie to the north, two to the south, one to the east, and one to the west; and they are said to be separated by seas or mountains, difficult to cross (see Bd. XI). For their names, see Chaps. XVI, 10, XXVII, 40.

¹ Instead of adînas, ‘then for one,’ Nêr. has manufactured a word ainâ, ‘otherwise’ (see also Chap. VII, 19 n).

² This information is derived from Pahl. Vend. I, 4 a.

³ Or ‘ruby,’ referring to the rosy tints of dawn and sunset. The same statement is made in Bd. XII, 6. Nêr. has ‘steel,’ and the word can be translated ‘blood-metal.’

and goodness and truth. 7. And everything can change, except good and bad nature. 8. A good nature cannot change to evil by any means whatever, and a bad nature to goodness in any manner. 9. Aûharmazd, on account of a good nature, approves no evil and falsehood; (10) and Aharman, on account of a bad nature, accepts no goodness and truth; (11) and, on this account, *there* cannot be for them any peace and affection whatever, one with the other.'

CHAPTER XI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Is wisdom good, or skill, or goodness¹?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Wisdom with which *there* is no goodness, is not to be considered as wisdom; (5) and skill with which *there* is no wisdom, is not to be considered as skill.'

CHAPTER XII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore is *it* when the treasure of the spiritual *existence* is allotted so truly, *and* that of the worldly *existence* so falsely?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'The treasure of the worldly *existence* was² allotted as truly, in the original creation, as that of the spiritual *existence*. 5. And the creator, Aûharmazd, provided the

¹ L19 omits the last two words, but they are evidently referred to in the reply.

² Literally, 'is.'

happiness of every kind, that is in these creatures and creation, for the use (*bûn*) of the sun¹ and moon and those twelve constellations which are called the twelve chieftains² by revelation; (6) and they, too, accepted *it* in order to allot *it* truly and deservedly.

7. 'And, afterwards, Aharman produced those seven planets, such as are called the seven chieftains of Aharman, for dissipating³ *and* carrying off that happiness from the creatures of Aûharmazd, in opposition to the sun and moon and those twelve constellations. 8. And *as to* every happiness which those constellations bestow on the creatures of Aûharmazd, (9) those planets take away as much of it as *it* is possible for them (the constellations) to give⁴, (10) and give *it* up to the power of the demons⁵ and fiends and the bad.

11. 'And the treasure of the spiritual *existence* is so true on this account, because Aûharmazd, the lord, with all the angels *and* archangels, is⁶ undisturbed, (12) and they make the struggle with Aharman and the demons, and also the account of the souls of men, with justice. 13. And the place of *him* whose good work is more is in heaven, (14) the place of *him* whose good work and sin are equal is among the ever-stationary⁷, (15) and when the crime is more, his path is then to hell.'

¹ Literally, 'Mitrô,' the angel of the sun.

² See Chap. VIII, 17-21.

³ By omitting one letter K43 has 'miscreating.'

⁴ By omitting this verb L19 has 'possible for them (the planets).'

⁵ So understood by Nêr., but all the best MSS. omit the relative particle, as if 'the powerful demons' were meant.

⁶ Literally, 'are.'

⁷ See Chap. VII, 18.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore is *it* when oxen and sheep, birds, flying creatures, and fish are, each one, properly learned in that which is their own knowledge, (3) and men, so long as they bring no instruction unto them, and they do not perform much toil and trouble (*angîñö*)¹ about it, are not able to obtain and know the learning of the human race?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'Men have been so wise, in the original creation, that, *as to* the good works and crime which *were* performed by them, the recompense of the good works and the punishment of the crime *were* then seen by them with their own eyes, (6) and no crime whatever proceeded from men. 7. *But*, afterwards, Aharman, the wicked, concealed the recompense of good works and the punishment of sin. 8. And on this account, moreover, it is said in revelation (9) that: "[These]"² four [things are worse and more grievous] than every evil which the accursed evil *one*, the wicked, committed upon the creatures of Aûharmazd, (10) [that is, when the reward of good works and] punishment [of sin], the thoughts of men, and the consequence of actions *were* quite concealed [by him]³."

¹ Nêr. has read *khvazînak*, and taken it as equivalent to Pers. *khazînah*, 'treasury,' in the sense of 'expenditure;' but this is very doubtful.

² The words in brackets, in §§ 9, 10, are taken from the Pâzand version, as the passage containing them has been omitted by mistake in K43.

³ The *Pandnâmah* of Buzurg-Mihir states 'this, too, is declared, that the evil spirit committed even this very grievous thing upon

11. 'And, for the samè reason, he made many devotions and improper creeds current in the world. 12. And, on account of men's not knowing of duty and good works, every one believes that most, and considers *it* as good, which his teaching in devotion has included. 13. And that devotion, in particular, is more powerful¹, with which sovereignty exists. 14. But that one is the lordship and sovereignty of Vistâsp², the king of kings, (15) by whom, on account of knowing *it* unquestionably and certainly (aêvarîhâ), the perfect and true religion, which is in the word of the creator Aûharmazd, was received from the unique Zaratûst, the Spîtamân³, (16) who has manifested clearly, explicitly, and unquestionably the treasure of the worldly and spiritual *existences*, of every kind, from the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 17. There is then⁴ no *other* creed, through which it is possible for one to obtain and know the treasure of the worldly and spiritual *existences* so explicitly and clearly, (18) but, on account of much controversy⁵, they are so cut up (âgîstakö)

the creatures of Aûharmazd, when the reward of good works and punishment of sin *were* quite concealed by him, in the thoughts of men, as the consequence of actions.'

¹ Nêr. has 'purer,' by connecting pâdîyâvandtar with pâdîyâv, 'ablution;' but this is hardly possible, whereas the former word can be readily traced to Av. paiti+yâ+vant, with the meaning 'resistant, stubborn, strong;' compare Pers. pâyâb, 'power.'

² Av. Vistâspa, Pers. Gustâsp, the fifth king of the Kayân dynasty, who adopted the religion of Zarâtust in the thirtieth year of his reign, and is said to have reigned 120 years (see Bd. XXXIV, 7).

³ See Chap. I, 10 n.

⁴ Instead of 'then for one,' Nêr. has 'otherwise,' as in Chap. IX, 6.

⁵ Reading vigûftakîh. Nêr. has 'by much contemplation;'

and entangled, that the statements of their beginning are much unlike to the middle, and the middle to the end.'

CHAPTER XIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of¹ [wisdom (2) thus : 'Which protection is the more defensive ? 3. Which friend² (4) and which supporter of fame are good ? 5. Which helper of enjoyment is good ? 6. Which wealth is the pleasanter ? 7. And which is the supremest pleasure of all pleasures³ ?'

8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus : 'The sacred being is the more defensive protection. 10. A virtuous brother is a good friend. 11. A child, who is virtuous and an upholder of religion, is a good supporter of fame. 12. A virtuous wife, who is well-disposed, is a good helper of enjoyment. 13. That wealth is better and pleasanter which is collected by honesty, *and one* consumes *and* maintains with duties and good works. 14. *And* the pleasures which are superior to all pleasures are health of body, freedom from fear, good repute, *and* righteousness⁴.'

having read *vênastakih*. Both words are very uncommon, and it is doubtful which of them is the more appropriate to the context.

¹ From this point to Chap. XXVII, 49 the Pahlavi text of K43 is missing, owing to the loss of nine folios in that MS., but a copy of the missing passage, made by Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji from TD2, has been consulted for the purpose of controlling the Pâz. version of L19.

² L19 inserts 'is good?'

³ TD2 has 'which is the friend who is the supremest of friends ;' but this does not correspond well with the reply in § 14.

⁴ TD2 adds '*and* are good.'

CHAPTER XV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Is poverty good, or opulence¹?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Poverty which is through honesty is better than opulence which is from the treasure of others. 5. For it is stated (6) thus: "*As to him who is the poorest and most secluded (armêsttûm)*² person, whenever he keeps his thoughts, words, *and* deeds honest, and in duty to the sacred beings, for him even *there* is lawfully a share of all the duties and good works which mankind shall do in the world³.

7. *As to him, too, who is opulent, who is a man of much wealth, when the wealth is not produced by honesty, though he takes trouble (angînakô) in⁴ duties and good works and righteous gifts, his good work is then not his own, (8) because the good work is his from whom *the wealth* is abstracted⁵.*"

¹ L19 adds 'or sovereignty,' to account for §§ 12-39.

² Av. armaêsta, applied to water, means 'most stationary, stagnant;' Pahl. armêst (Av. airima) is applied to the place of 'seclusion' for impure men and women, and in Sls. VI, 1 it seems to refer to 'helpless' idiots or lunatics; Nêr. explains it in Sanskrit as 'lame, crippled, immobility,' but 'secluded, immured, helpless' are terms better adapted to the context, whether the word be applied to persons, as it is here and in Chaps. XXXVII, 36, XXXIX, 40, or to learning and character, as in Chap. LI, 7.

³ Persons who are wholly unable to perform good works are supposed to be entitled to a share of any supererogatory good works performed by others (see Sls. VI, 1, 2), but the allotment of such imputed good works seems to be at the discretion of the angels who keep them in store (see Sls. VIII, 4)

⁴ Nêr. has 'makes expenditure on,' by reading khvazînak, as in Chap. XIII, 3.

⁵ § 8 does not occur in L19, but is found in TD2, PA10, and MH7.

9. 'And *as to* that much wealth which is collected by proper exertion, and *one* consumes and maintains with duties and good works and pleasure, even that is no better thereby, (10) because it is necessary to consider that as perfect. 11. But *as to* him who is a man of much wealth, whose wealth is collected by proper exertion, and he consumes and maintains *it* with duties and good works and pleasure, he is great and good and more perfect¹.

12. 'And regarding even that which is sovereignty they state (13) thus: "What is² good government in a village is better than what is² bad government in a realm. 14. Because the creator *Aūharmaśd* produced good government for effecting the protection of the creatures, (15) and *Aharman*, the wicked, has produced bad government as the adversary of good government."

16. 'Good government is that which maintains *and* directs a province flourishing, the poor untroubled, *and* the law *and* custom true, (17) *and* sets aside improper laws and customs. 18. It well *maintains* water and fire by law³, (19) *and* keeps in progress the ceremonial of the sacred beings, duties, and good works. 20. It causes friendliness

¹ That is, the proper use of wealth does not make the wealth itself any better, but only the rightful possessor of it. This is, however, probably only an emendation of Nêr., as the copy of TD2 gives merely the following, for §§ 9-11: 'But *as to* him who is a man of much wealth, by whose proper exertion it is collected, *and* he consumes *and* maintains *it* with duties, good works, and pleasure, he is no better thereby, because it is necessary to consider him as perfect.'

² L19 omits 'what is' in both places.

³ TD2 omits 'maintains,' as it is sufficiently expressed by the same Pahl. verb 'keeps' in § 19; and L19 omits 'by law.'

and pleading¹ for the poor, (21) and delivers up itself, *and* even that which is its own life, for the sake of the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 22. And if there be any one who desists from the way of the sacred beings, then it orders *some one* to effect his restoration thereto; (23) it also makes him a prisoner, *and* brings *him* back to the way of the sacred beings; (24) it allots, out of the wealth that is his, the share of the sacred beings *and* the worthy, of good works *and* the poor; (25) and delivers up the body for the sake of the soul². 26. A good king, who³ is of that kind, is called equal to the angels and archangels.

27. 'Bad government is that (28) which destroys the true and proper law and custom, (29) and brings⁴ oppression, plunder, and injudiciousness into practice. 30. It dissipates the treasure of the spiritual existence, (31) *and* considers duty and good works a vexation, through greediness⁵. 32. It keeps back a person performing good works from doing good works, (33) and he thereby becomes a doer of harm. (34) Its disbursement⁶, too, of every kind is for its own self, (35) the administration of⁷ the treasure

¹ Reading *dâdō-gōbîh*, 'pronouncing the law,' or 'speaking of gifts,' instead of *Pâz. gâdangôî*, a misreading of *Nêr.* for *Pahl. yêdatō-gōbîh*, 'speaking of the sacred being.'

² The usual way of treating nonconformists in all ages and all sects, when party spirit is strong. TD₂ has 'delivers *him* up for the sake of body and soul.'

³ TD₂ has 'good government which.'

⁴ TD₂ has 'keeps;,' but the two verbs are much alike in *Huzvâris*.

⁵ Because nearly all such works entail expenditure.

⁶ *Nêr.* has 'accumulation,' but this is the meaning of *andôzish*, rather than of the *andâzish* in the text.

⁷ So in TD₂.

of the worldly existence, (36) the celebrity¹ *and* exaltation of the vile, (37) the destruction *and* neglect of the good, (38) *and* the annihilation of the poor. 39. A bad king, who² is of that kind, is called equal to Aharman and the demons.'

CHAPTER XVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Of the food which men eat, and the clothing which men put on, which are the more valuable and good?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Of the food which men eat, the milk of goats is produced good. 5. Because, *as to* men and-quadrupeds, who are born from a mother, until the *time* when food is eaten by them, their growth *and* nourishment are then from milk, (6) *and* on milk they can well live. 7. And if men, when they withdraw from the milk of the mother, make thorough experience of the milk of goats, (8) then bread is not necessary for use among them. 9. Since it is declared, (10) that "the food of mankind, who are in Arzah and Savah, Fradaḏafsh and Vidaḏafsh, Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst³, is the milk of goats and cows; (11) other food they do not eat." 12. *And* he who is a milk-consuming man is healthier and stronger, and even the procreation of children becomes more harmless.

¹ Reading *khanîdîh* as in TD2 and Chap. II, 28.

² TD2 has 'bad government which.'

³ The six outermost regions of the earth, of which Arzah lies to the west, Savah to the east, Fradaḏafsh and Vidaḏafsh to the south, and Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst to the north (of the central region (see Bd. V, 8, XI, 3).

13. 'Of grains wheat is called great and good, (14) because it is the chief of grains¹, (15) *and* even by the Avesta its name is then specified in the chieftainship of grains².

16. 'And of fruit the date *and* grape are called great and good. 17. When bread has not come, it is necessary to consecrate the sacred cake by means of fruit³; (18) when the fruit to consecrate is the date or grape, it is allowable to eat every fruit; (19) *and* when those have not come, it is necessary to eat that fruit which is consecrated⁴.

20. 'Regarding wine *it* is evident, that it is possible *for* good *and* bad temper to come to manifestation through wine⁵. 21. The goodness of a man is manifested in anger, the wisdom of a man in irregular desire⁶. 22. For *he* whom anger hurries on (aûs-

¹ It is called 'the chief of large-seeded grains' in Bd. XXIV, 19.

² Possibly in the Pâzag Nask, part of which was 'about the thirty-three first chieftainships of the existences around, that is, how many of which are spiritual *and* how many worldly *existences*, and which is the second, and which the third of the spiritual *and* worldly *existences*,' as stated in the eighth book of the Dinkard.

³ That is, when a cake cannot be made, fruit can be substituted for it in the ceremony of consecrating the sacred cakes. The sacred cake, or drôn, is a small, round, flexible pancake of unleavened wheaten bread, about the size of the palm of the hand, which, after consecration, is tasted by all those present at the ceremony (see Sls. III, 32 n).

⁴ Fruit and wine are usually consecrated and eaten, in the Âfringân ceremony, after the completion of the Drôn ceremony, but sometimes the Âfringân is celebrated alone. Both ceremonies are performed in honour of some angel, or the guardian spirit of some deceased person (see Haug's Essays, pp. 407-409)

⁵ TD₂ has 'through the nature of wine;' but âs, 'wine,' is written nas.

⁶ TD₂ has 'the good of a man is in anger, and the wisdom of a man in lust exciting viciousness.'

tâvêd) is able to recover himself from it¹ through goodness, (23) *he* whom lust hurries on is able to recover himself from it through wisdom, (24) *and he* whom wine hurries on is able to recover himself from it through temper.

25. 'It is not requisite for investigation, (26) because he who is a good-tempered man, when he drinks wine, is such-like as a gold *or* silver cup which, however much more they burn *it*, becomes purer and brighter. 27. It also keeps *his* thoughts, words, *and* deeds more virtuous; (28) and he becomes gentler and pleasanter unto wife and child, companions and friends², (29) and is more diligent in every duty and good work.

30. 'And he who is a bad-tempered man, when he drinks wine, thinks *and* considers himself more than ordinary. 31. He carries on a quarrel with companions, displays insolence, makes ridicule and mockery, (32) *and* acts arrogantly *to* a good person. 33. He distresses his own wife and child³, slave and servant; (34) and dissipates the joy of the good, (35) carries off peace, *and* brings in discord.

36. 'But every one must be cautious as to⁴ the moderate drinking of wine. 37. Because, from the moderate drinking of wine, thus much benefit happens to him: (38) since it digests the food, (39) kindles the *vital* fire⁵, (40) increases the understanding and intellect, semen and blood, (41) removes vexation, (42) *and* inflames the complexion.

¹ Reading *agas*, instead of *afas* (Pâz. *vas*); these two words being written alike in Pahlavi.

² TD2 has 'he becomes more friendly, gentler, and pleasanter unto wife and child and companions.' It also omits § 29.

³ TD2 inserts 'hireling.'

⁴ Or 'must become intelligent through.'

⁵ The animal heat, called the Vohu-fryân fire in Bd. XVII, 1.

43. It causes recollection of things forgotten, (44) *and* goodness takes a place in the mind. (45) It likewise increases the sight of the eye, the hearing of the ear, and the speaking of the tongue; (46) *and* work, which it is necessary to do *and* expedite, becomes more progressive. 47. He *also* sleeps pleasantly in the sleeping place¹, *and* rises light. 48. And, on account of these contingencies, good repute for the body, righteousness for the soul, and also the approbation of the good² come upon him.

49. 'And in him who drinks wine more than moderately, thus much defect becomes manifest, (50) since it diminishes his wisdom, understanding and intellect, semen and blood; (51) it injures the liver³ and accumulates disease, (52) it alters the complexion, (53) and diminishes the strength and vigour. 54. The homage *and* glorification of the sacred beings become forgotten. 55. The sight of the eye, the hearing of the ear, and the speaking of the tongue become less. 56. He distresses Horvada⁴ and Amerodad⁴ (57) *and* entertains a desire of lethargy⁵. 58. That, also, which it is necessary for him to say and do, remains undone; (59) *and* he sleeps in uneasiness, *and* rises uncomfortably. 60. *And*, on account of these contingencies, himself'.

¹ Nêr. has 'at sleeping time,' and the word gâs means either 'time' or 'place,' but usually the latter. TD2 has bâsn gâs, probably for bâlîsn gâs, 'bed place.'

² Nêr. inserts the words 'greatly increase' in the Sanskrit version, but they do not occur in TD2.

³ These four words occur only in TD2.

⁴ The two archangels who are supposed to be injured by improper eating and drinking (see Chap. II, 34 n).

⁵ Bûshâsp (Av. Bûshyâsta), the fiend of slothful sleep.

⁶ Or it can be translated 'his own body.'

wife, and child, friend *and* kindred are distressed *and* unhappy. (61) and the superintendent of troubles¹ and the enemy are glad. 62. The sacred beings, also, are not pleased with him; (63) and infamy comes to his body, and even wickedness to *his* soul.

64. 'Of the dress which people possess *and* put on², silk is good for the body, and cotton for the soul. 65. For this reason, because silk arises from a noxious creature³, (66) and the nourishment of cotton is from water, and *its* growth from earth⁴; and as a treasure of the soul it is called great and good and more valuable.'

CHAPTER XVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Which is that pleasure which is worse than unhappiness?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Whoever has acquired wealth by crime, and he becomes glad of it thereby⁵, then that pleasure is worse for him than unhappiness.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore do people consider these very little,

¹ Meaning probably the evil spirit.

² The Sanskrit version omits the former verb, and TD₂ the latter.

³ Caterpillars are creatures of *Aharman*, because they eat and injure vegetation which is under the special protection of the arch-angel *Amerodad*.

⁴ Water and earth, being both personified as angels, would impart somewhat of their sacred character to the cotton arising from them.

⁵ 'Glad of the crime on account of the wealth' is probably meant

these four things which it is necessary for them to consider more, as warnings (*dakhshak*), (3) the changeableness of the things of the worldly *existence*, the death of the body, the account of the soul¹, and the fear of hell ?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : 'On account of the delusiveness (*nîyâzânîh*) of the demon of greediness², and of discontent.'

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Is living in fear *and* falsehood worse, or death ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'To live in fear and falsehood is worse than death. 5. Because every one's life is necessary for the enjoyment *and* pleasure of the worldly *existence*, (6) and when the enjoyment *and* pleasure of the worldly *existence* are not his, and fear and even falsehood³ are with him, it is called worse than death.'

CHAPTER XX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'For kings which is the one thing more advantageous, and which the more injurious ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'For kings conversation with the wise *and* good is the

¹ That is, the account to be rendered by the soul after death.

² See Chap. VIII, 15 n.

³ These being considered as fiends ; the latter, *mîtôkht*, being the first demon produced by the evil spirit (see Bd. I, 24. XXVIII, 14, 16).

one thing more advantageous, (5) and speaking *and* conversation with slanderers *and* double-dealers are the more injurious for them.'

CHAPTER XXI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What is the end of the world-arranging *and* spirit-destroying man? 3. What is the end of him who is a scoffing man? 4-6. What is the end of the idle, the malicious, and the lazy man? 7. What is the end of a false-hearted *one*, (8) and the end of an arrogant *one*¹?'

9. The spirit of wisdom answered (10) thus : 'He who is a world-arranging *and* spirit-destroying man is as injured, in the punishment of the three *nights*², as a raging fire when water comes upon it.

11³. 'Of him who is a scoffing man *there* is no glory in body and soul; (12) *and* every time when he opens *his* mouth his wickedness then increases. 13. All the fiends, too, become so lodged in his body, that they leave no goodness whatever for his body; (14) and he makes mockery of the good, and glorification of the vile. 15. Also in the worldly *existence* his body is infamous, and *in* the spiritual *existence* *his* soul is wicked. 16. And, for effecting *his* punishment in hell, they deliver him over to

¹ L19 has 'What is the end of him who is an idle man?' in § 4, and repeats the same formula in each of the §§ 5-8.

² Referring to the three days and nights of final punishment, reserved for those specially wicked, at the time of the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 12-16).

³ In TD2 the remaining sections are arranged in the following order:—§§ 18, 27-33, 19-26, 34-44, 11-17.

the scoffing fiend; (17) *and* that fiend inflicts a ridicule and a mockery upon him with every single punishment.

18. 'As to him who is an idle man, yet devoid of wickedness, mostly when¹ death comes on in the worldly *existence*, he thereupon (agas) begets pleasantly for the sake of another.

19. 'The bridge² which is for the soul of him who is a malicious man is more difficult than *for* the other wicked who are in hell. 20. For this reason, because malice proceeds by lineage; (21) *and* it is possible to manage every sin better than malice, (22) because malice will abide in a lineage. 23. There are *instances* when it adheres³ until the renovation of the universe; (24) for *it* is clearly declared by the pure revelation, (25) that the origin of the estrangement (anîrânîh) of the Arûmans, *and* even the Tûrânians, *from* the Irânians, was owing to that malice which *was* generated by them through the slaughter of Aîrîk⁴; (26) *and it* always adheres until the renovation.

¹ L19 inserts 'misery and.'

² The Kîndvar bridge (see Chap. II, 115, 162), which is supposed to resemble a beam with many unequal sides, the side turned uppermost being narrower in proportion as the soul, intending to pass along it, is more wicked; so that the difficulty of the transit increases with the sin of the soul (see Dd. XXI, 3-5).

³ Or 'continues.'

⁴ Pâz. Erâz, one of the three sons of Frêdûn, the Pêrdâd sovereign, who divided his empire among them, giving the Arûman provinces to Salm, the Tûrânian to Tûg, and the Irânian to Aîrîk. The last was slain by his two brothers, and his death was subsequently avenged by his descendant Mânûskîhar (see Chap. XXVII, 41-43, Bd. XXXI, 9-12). Though these sons are not mentioned in the Avesta now extant, their history appears to have been related in the Kîdrast Nask (see Sls. X, 28 n).

27. 'He who is a lazy man is said *to be* the most unworthy of men. 28. Because *it* is declared by revelation, (20) that the creator Aûharmazd produced no corn for him who is a lazy man; (30) for him who is a lazy man *there* is then no giving of anything in gifts and charity¹; (31) and lodging and entertainment are not to be provided for him. 32. For this reason, because that food which a lazy man eats, he eats through impropriety and injustice; (33) and, on account of his laziness and unjust eating, his body then becomes infamous and the soul wicked.

34. 'He who is a false-hearted man is as dubious in good *things* as in bad; (35) *he* is dubious as to the treasure of the spiritual and worldly *existences*, and also as to the ceremonial, invocation, *and* service of the sacred beings. 36. And, on account of these circumstances, the angels *and* archangels shall accept little of the ceremonial *and* invocations which he performs, (37) and give unto him little of the gain, too, which he seeks. 38. And in the mouth of the good *man* *he* is always infamous, (39) and his soul becomes wicked.

40. 'The friends of him who is an arrogant man are few, and his enemies many. 41. And even of the gifts which he gives to any one, *and* the ceremonial, too, which he performs for the sacred beings, they shall accept little, on account of *his* arrogance, (42) and give little of the gain, too, which he seeks. 43. And in hell they deliver him to the fiend of arrogance, in order to inflict punishment upon *his* soul; (44) and the fiend of arrogance inflicts punishment of various kinds upon it, *and* is not pacified.'

¹ L19 has 'he then gives nothing *as* his living, which is through gifts and charity.'

CHAPTER XXII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Is it possible to provide, for one's own hand, the treasure *and* wealth of the worldly *existence* through exertion, or not?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'It is not possible to provide for one's self, through exertion, that benefit which is not ordained; (5) but a morsel (kazd) of that which is ordained comes on by means of exertion. 6. Yet the exertion, when it is fruitless in the worldly *existence*, through the sacred beings not *being* with it¹, still comes, afterwards, to *one's* assistance in the spiritual *existence*, *and* outweighs in the balance².'

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Is it possible to contend with destiny through wisdom *and* knowledge, or not?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Even with the might and powerfulness of wisdom *and* knowledge, even then it is not possible to contend with destiny. 5. Because, when predestination as to virtue, or as to the reverse³, comes forth, the wise becomes wanting (nīyâzân) in duty, and the astute in evil *becomes* intelligent; (6) the faint-hearted *becomes* braver, and the braver *becomes* faint-hearted;

¹ TD₂ has 'time not *being* with it.'

² The balance in which men's actions are weighed by the angel Rashnû (see Chap. II, 119-122).

³ L₁₉ has 'vileness.'

(7) the diligent *becomes* lazy, and the lazy acts diligently¹. (8) Just as is predestined as to the matter, the cause enters into it, (9) *and* thrusts out everything else.'

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'On account of the begging of favours, and the practice and worthiness of good works, do the sacred beings also grant anything to men otherwise², or not?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'They grant; (5) for *there are* such as they call thus: "Destiny *and* divine providence." 6. Destiny is that which is ordained from the beginning, (7) *and* divine providence is that which they also grant otherwise. 8. But the sacred beings provide and manifest in the spiritual *existence* little of that grant, on this account, because Aharman, the wicked³, through the power of the seven planets extorts wealth, *and* also every other benefit of the worldly *existence*, from the good *and* worthy, *and* grants *them* more fully to the bad *and* unworthy.'

CHAPTER XXV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Of the rich who is the poorer, and of the poor who is the richer?'

¹ L19 has 'becomes diligent.'

² That is, otherwise than by destiny, as mentioned in the previous chapter, and in consequence of prayer and merit.

³ TD₂ inserts 'through that cause.'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Of the rich he is the poorer who is not content with that which is his, (5) and suffers anxiety for the increase of anything.

6. 'And of the poor he is the richer who is content with that which has come, (7) and cares not for the increase of anything.'

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Is a blind eye worse, or a blind mind (dīl)? 3. Is the ill-informed worse, or the bad-tempered?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : 'He who is blind-eyed, when he has understanding in anything, *and* accomplishes learning, is to be considered as sound-eyed. 6. *And* he who is sound-eyed, when he has no knowledge *and* understanding¹, and even that which they teach him he does not accept, then that is worse than even a blind eye.

7. 'The ill-tempered is less evil² than the ill-informed ; (8) because the ill-tempered, except by a decree, is not able to seize anything away from any one ; (9) and *as to* the ill-informed man, his desire of every kind is then³ for oppression and plunder. 10. Concerning him who is ill-informed *it* is declared that, apart from predestination, he is born *free* from fresh understanding⁴.'

¹ L19 has 'when he has no knowledge of anything.'

² L19 has 'is better.'

³ That is, when he has a decree in his favour.

⁴ § 10 is found only in TD2. It probably means that an ill-informed man is not likely to acquire any knowledge beyond that which is unavoidable.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore have the people who *were* from Gâyô-mard¹, *and* those, too, who *were* lords and monarchs, from Hôshâng², the Pêsdâd, even unto Vistâsp³, the king of kings, been such doers of *their own* wills? 3. Much benefit *was* also obtained by them from the sacred beings, (4) *and* they have been mostly those who *were* ungrateful unto the sacred beings, (5) *and* there are *some* even who have been very ungrateful, promise-breaking, *and* sinful. 6. For what benefit then have they *been* severally created, (7) *and* what result and advantage proceeded from them?'

8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus: 'That which thou askest concerning them, *as to* benefit, or as to the reverse⁴, thou shouldst become aware of and fully understand. 10. Because the affairs of the world of every kind proceed through destiny and time and the supreme decree of the self-existent eternity (zôrvân), the king and long-continuing lord. 11. Since, at various periods, it happens unto every one, for whom it is allotted, just as that which is necessary to happen. 12. As even from the mutual connection of those ancients, who are passed

¹ Av. Gaya-maretan, the primeval man from whom the whole human race is supposed to have sprung, and who lived for thirty years after the advent of the evil spirit (see Bd. III, 22, XXXIV, 2).

² Av. Haoshyangha, the first monarch of the Irânian world, and founder of the Pêsdâd (Av. paradhâta, 'early law') dynasty. He was the great-grandson of Mâshya, the first earthly man that sprang from Gâyô-mard, and is said to have reigned for forty years (see Bd. XV, 21-28, XXXI, 1, XXXIV, 4).

³ See Chap. XIII, 14 n.

⁴ Lit has 'evil.'

away, it is manifest (13) that, ultimately, that benefit arose which was necessary to come from them to the creatures of Aôharmazd.

14. 'Because the advantage from Gâyômarð was this, (15) first, the slaying of Ârzûr¹, and making delivery of his own body, with great judiciousness, to Aharman². 16. *And* the second advantage was this, (17) that mankind and all the guardian spirits of the producers of the renovation of the universe, males³ and females⁴, were produced from his body. 18. *And*, thirdly, this⁵, that even the metals were produced *and* formed⁶ from his body⁷.

19. 'And the advantage from Hôshâng, the Pêsdâd, was this, (20) that, of three parts, he slew two parts of the demons of Mâzendar⁸, who were destroyers of the world.

21. 'The advantage from Tâkhmorup⁹, the well-

¹ Written Aîrzûr in TD2. It has been suggested by Windischmann (Zor. Stud. p. 5) that this was the name of a demon, afterwards applied to the Arezûr ridge at the gate of hell (see Bd. XII, 8), but this requires confirmation. Regarding this ridge the following explanation occurs in the Pahlavi Rivâyât which precedes Dd. in many MSS.:—'They say that hell is the ridge (pûstô) of Arekzûr; and hell is not the ridge of Arekzûr, but that place where the gate of hell exists is a ridge (grîvakô) such as the ridge named Arekzûr, and owing to that they assert that it is the ridge (pûstô) of Arekzûr.' The explainer appears to mean that the ridge at the gate of hell was named after the other Mount Arezûr, in Arûm (see Bd. XII, 16).

² Compare Bd. III, 21-23.

³ L19 has 'righteous males.'

⁴ Fifteen of each, as stated in Bd. XXX, 17.

⁵ L19 has 'this advantage.' ⁶ L19 omits the former verb.

⁷ See Zs. X, 2, Dd. LXIV, 7.

⁸ See Dd. LXV, 5, referring probably to the demon-worshippers of Mâzendârân, south of the Caspian.

⁹ Av. Takhmô-urupa, the Tahmûras of the Shâhnâmah; he

grown, was this, (22) that the accursed evil *one*, the wicked, *was* kept by him thirty years as a charger¹. 23. *And* the writing of penmanship of seven kinds, which that wicked *one* kept in concealment, he brought out to publicity.

24. 'The advantage from the well-flocked Yim-shêd², son of Vivangha, was this, (25) that an immortality of six hundred years, six months, and sixteen days³ is provided by him for the creatures and creation, of every kind, of the creator Aûhar-mazd; (26) *and* they are made unsuffering, undecaying, *and* undisturbed⁴. (27) Secondly, this⁵, that the enclosure formed by Yim⁶ *was* made by him; (28) *and* when that rain of Malkôs⁷ occurs—since *it* is declared in revelation that mankind and

is said to have been a great-grandson of Hôshang, whom he succeeded on the throne, and to have reigned thirty years (see Bd. XXXI, 2, XXXIV, 4). Written Takhmôrûdô in TD2.

¹ See Râm Yt. 12, Zamyâd Yt. 29.

² Av. Yima khshaêta, 'Yim the splendid;' he was a brother of his predecessor, Tâkumorup, and the Bundahis states that he reigned six hundred and sixteen years and six months in glory, and one hundred years in concealment (see Chap. VIII, 27, Bd. XXXI, 3, XXXIV, 4).

³ TD2 has only 'three hundred years,' by the accidental omission of a cipher; it also omits the months and days.

⁴ See Vend. II, 16, Râm Yt. 16, Zamyâd Yt. 33.

⁵ L19 has 'this advantage.'

⁶ See Chap. LXII, 15-19. The formation of this enclosure is ordered by Aûhar-mazd in Vend. II, 61-92, for the preservation of mankind, animals, and plants from the effects of a glacial epoch which he foretells, and which is here represented as the rain of Malkôs.

⁷ This term for 'deluging rain' may be traced either to Chald. מלקוש 'autumnal rain,' or to Av. mahrkûsô, the title of a demon regarding whom nothing is yet known (see Dd. XXXVII, 94 n and SBE, vol. xviii, p. 479).

the other creatures and creations of Aûhar-mazd, the lord, are mostly those which shall perish¹—(29) *one* shall afterwards open the gate of that enclosure formed by Yim, (30) *and* the people *and* cattle, and other creatures and creations of the creator Aûhar-mazd, shall come out from that enclosure, (31) and arrange the world again. 32. Thirdly, (33) when² he brought back the proportion of the worldly *existences*, which that evil-producing wicked *one*³ had swallowed, from his belly⁴. Fourthly, when a goat (gôspend) *was* not given by him to the demons in the character of an old man⁵.

34. 'And the advantage from Az-î Dahâk, the

¹ L19 has merely 'shall mostly perish,' in place of these last six words.

² L19 has 'thirdly, this advantage, that.'

³ L19 adds 'who is Aharman.'

⁴ According to a legend preserved in the Persian Rivâyats (see MH10, fol. 52) Aharman, while kept as a charger by Tâkhnorup, induced the wife of the latter to ascertain from her husband whether he ever felt fear while riding the fiend, and, acting upon the information thus obtained, he threw the king from his back while descending from the Alburz mountains, and swallowed him. Information of this event was conveyed to Yim by the angel Srôsh, who advised him to seek the fiend and propitiate him. Yim, accordingly, went into the wilderness singing, to attract Aharman, and, when the fiend appeared, Yim ingratiated himself into his favour and, taking advantage of an unguarded moment, he dragged Tâkhnorup out of the fiend's entrails, and placed the corpse in a depository for the dead. In consequence of this feat his hand was attacked with leprosy, from which he suffered greatly until it was accidentally washed in bull's urine, which healed it. This legend is related for the purpose of recommending the use of bull's urine for purification of the body.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'as a substitute for an old man.' This fourth advantage is found only in TD2, where the text is as follows:—*'Kahârûm, amatar gôspend pavan gôharîk-î pîr va/ sêdân lâ yehabûntô.'*

Bêvarâsp¹, and the accursed Frâsiyâk of Tûr¹ was this, (35) that, if the dominion should not have come to Bêvarâsp *and* Frâsiyâk, the accursed evil spirit would then have given that dominion unto Aeshm²; (36) and when it would have come unto Aeshm, it would not have been possible to take *it* away from him till the resurrection *and* future existence, (37) for this reason, because he has no bodily existence³.

38. 'And the advantage from Frêdûn⁴ was this, (39) such as the vanquishing *and* binding of Az-î Dahâk, the Bêvarâsp⁵, who *was* so grievously sinful. 40. And, again too, many demons of Mâzendar⁶ were smitten by him, and expelled from the region of Khvanîras⁷.

41. 'And the advantage from Mânûskîhar⁸ was this, (42, 43) that, in revenge for Aîrîk, who was his grandfather, Salm and Tûg *were* kept back by him from disturbing the world⁹. 44. From the land of

¹ See Chap. VIII, 29.

² The demon of wrath (see Chap. II, 115).

³ And would, therefore, have continued to live and reign till the resurrection.

⁴ See Chap. VIII, 27. He is said to have reigned for five hundred years (see Bd. XXXIV, 6), but this period includes the lives of ten generations of his descendants who did not reign (see Bd. XXXI, 14).

⁵ He is said to have been confined in Mount Dimâvand (see Bd. XXIX, 9).

⁶ See § 20.

⁷ The central region of the earth, containing all the countries best known to the Irânians, and supposed to be as large as the six outer regions united (see Bd. XI, 2-6).

⁸ The successor of Frêdûn, who reigned one hundred and twenty years (see Bd. XXXIV, 6). He was a descendant, in the tenth generation, from Aîrîk, one of the sons of Frêdûn, who had been slain by his brothers Salm and Tûg (see Bd. XXXI, 9-14).

⁹ Lrg has 'that he slew Salm and Tûg, who were his great-

*Padashkhvârgar*¹ unto the beginning of *Dûgakô*², such as *Frâsiyâk*³ had taken, by treaty (*padmânô*)⁴ he seized back from *Frâsiyâk*, and brought it into the possession of the countries of Irân. And as to the enlargement of the sea of *Kânsât*⁵, such as *Frâsiyâk* supplied, he also expelled the water from it.

45. 'And the advantage from *Kaî-Kavâd*⁶ was

uncles, in revenge for *Aîrîk*, and kept them back from disturbing the world.'

¹ The mountainous region in *Taparistân* and *Gilân*, south of the Caspian (see Bd. XII, 17).

² L19 has 'hell.' This *Dûgakô* may possibly be meant for the *Duzakô* of Vend. I, 34, of which *Vaêkereta* was the chief settlement, and this latter is identified with *Kâvûl* (*Kâbul*) by the Pahlavi translators. The name can also be read *Gangakô*, which might be identified with *Canzaca*, but this would not correspond so well with the legend, alluded to in the text, which relates how *Mânûsêihar*, having shut himself up in the impregnable fortress of *Âmul* in *Taparistân*, could not be conquered by *Frâsiyâk*, who was compelled to come to terms, whereby all the country within an arrow-shot east of Mount *Dimâvand* should remain subject to *Mânûsêihar*. The arrow was shot and kept on its flight from dawn till noon, when it fell on the bank of the *Oxus*, which river was thenceforward considered the frontier of the Irânians. This frontier would fully include all the territory between *Taparistân* and *Kâbul* mentioned in the text. In Bd. XXXI, 21 the success of *Mânûsêihar* is attributed to some dispute between *Frâsiyâk* and his brother, *Aghrêrad*.

³ See Chap. VIII. 29 n.

⁴ L19 has 'such as was made the portion (*padmânô*) of *Frâsiyâk*.'

⁵ Called *Kyânsêih* in Bd. XIII, 16, XX, 34, where it is stated that it was formerly fresh, but latterly salt, and that *Frâsiyâk* diverted many rivers and streams into it. It is the brackish lake and swamp now called *Hâmûn*, 'the desert,' or *Zarah*, 'the sea,' in *Sîstân*. In the Avesta it is called *Kâsu*, and the future apostles of the *Mazda*-worshipping faith are expected to be born on its shores.

⁶ Av. *Kavi Kavâta*, the *Kaî-Qubâd* of the *Shâhnâmah*. Ite

this, (46) that he became a thanksgiver unto the sacred beings. 47. Dominion, also, *was* well exercised by him, (48) *and* the family and race of the Kayâns proceeded again from him.

49. 'And the advantage from Sâhm]¹ was [this], (50) that the serpent Srôvar² and the wolf Kapûd³, which they also call Pêhinô⁴, the watery demon Gandarep⁵, the bird Kamak⁶, and the deluding demon *were* slain by him. 51. And he also performed many other great and valuable actions, (52) and kept back much disturbance from the world, (53) *as to* which, when one of those disturbances, in particular, should have remained behind, it would not have been possible to produce the resurrection and future existence.

54. 'And the advantage from Kât-Ûs⁷ was this,

was the founder of the Kayân dynasty, and reigned fifteen years (see Bd. XXXI, 24, 25, XXXIV, 7).

¹ The brackets indicate the end of the passage taken from TD₂ and the Pâzand version, in consequence of the nine folios containing Chaps. XIV, 1-XXVII, 49 being lost from K₄₃. From this point the translation follows the text of K₄₃. Sâhm (Av. Sâma) was the family name of the hero Keresâsp (see Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136), who was a son of Thrîta the Sâman (see Yas. IX, 30, 31). For the legends relating to him, see SBE. vol. xviii, pp. 369-382. His name is written Sâm in Pâzand.

² Av. azi srvara (see Yas. IX, 34-39, Zamyâd Yt. 40)

³ Or 'the blue wolf;' not yet identified in the Avesta.

⁴ Darmesteter (SBE, vol. xxiii, p. 295, note 4) identifies this name with Pathana of Zamyâd Yt. 41, which seems to mean 'highwayman;' but this identification appears to depend merely on similarity of sound.

⁵ Av. Gandarewa of Âbân Yt. 38, Râm Yt. 28, Zamyâd Yt. 41.

⁶ A gigantic bird mentioned in the Persian Rivâyats as over shadowing the earth and keeping off the rain, while it ate up men and animals like grains of corn, until Keresâsp killed it with arrows shot continuously for seven days and nights.

⁷ See Chap. VIII, 27 n. He was a grandson of Kai-Kavâd,

(55) as Siyâvakhsh¹ *was* produced from his body.
56. Many other actions also proceeded from him.

57. 'And the advantage from Siyâvakhsh¹ was this, (58) such as the begetting of Kaî-Khûsrôî², and the formation of Kangdez³.

59. 'And the advantage from Kaî-Khûsrôî was this, (60) such as the slaying of Frâsiyâk⁴, (61) the extirpation of the idol-temples which *were* on the lake of Kêkast⁵, (62) and the management of Kangdez. 63. And *he* is able to do good through his assistance of the raising of the dead⁶ *by* the restorer of the dead, the triumphant Sôshâns⁷, which is in the future existence.

64. 'And the advantage from Kaî-Lôharâsp⁸ was

whom he succeeded, and is said to have reigned a hundred and fifty years (see Bd. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7), but perhaps this period may have included the reign of his father, whom tradition has nearly forgotten.

¹ Av. Syâvarshân, the Siyâvush of the Shâhnâmah. Though both his father and son were kings, he did not reign himself. L19 has Kaî-Syâvash.

² See Chap. II, 95.

³ Av. Kangha. A fortified settlement said to have been 'in the direction of the east, at many leagues from the bed of the wide-formed ocean towards that side,' and on the frontier of Aîrân-vêg (see Chap. LXII, 13. Bd. XXIX, 10).

⁴ See Chap. VIII, 29. This name must have been applied rather to a dynasty than to a single individual, as he reigned in Irân in the time of Mânûskihar, nearly two hundred years earlier.

⁵ See Chap. II, 95.

⁶ He is expected to assist in the renovation of the universe at the resurrection, together with Keresâsp and other heroes (see Chap. LVII, 7, Dd. XXXVI, 3).

⁷ See Chap. II, 95.

⁸ Av. Kavi and Aurvâdaspa. He was a descendant of Kaî-Kavâd in the fifth generation, being a second cousin once removed of his predecessor, Kaî-Khûsrôî, and reigned a hundred and twenty years (see Bd. XXXI, 25, 28, XXXIV, 7).

this, (65) that dominion was well exercised by him, (66) and he became a thanksgiver unto the sacred beings. 67. He demolished the Jerusalem of the Jews¹, and made the Jews dispersed *and* scattered; *and* the accepter of the religion, Kai-Vistâsp², *was* produced from his body.

68. 'And the advantage from Vistâsp was this, (69) such as the acceptance and solemnization of the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, (70) through the divine voice (bakân aêvâz) *of* the Ahunavar³, the word of the creator Aûhar Mazda; (71) the annihilation and destruction of the bodies of the demons and fiends; (72) and the pleasure and comfort of water and fire and all the angels and spirits of the worldly existences⁴. 73. And *he was* full of the hope of the good and worthy, (74) through a virtuous desire for his own determination, (75) the compensation (nôš dasnô)⁵ and gratification of Aûhar Mazda, with the archangels, (76) and the affliction and destruction of Aharman and the⁶ miscreations.'

¹ Aûrisalêm-i Yahûdânô. The first fourteen words of § 67 do not occur in the Pâz.-Sans. version, but a corresponding statement is found in a Persian metrical version, described by Sachau in his Contributions to the Knowledge of Parsee Literature (J.R.A.S., New Series, vol. iv, pp. 229-283), also in the works of several Arab writers of the tenth century (see Nöldeke, Göt. gel. Anz. 1882, p. 964).

² See Chap. XIII, 14 n.

³ The most sacred formula of the Mazda-worshippers, consisting of twenty-one words, forming three metrical lines of sixteen syllables each, beginning with yathâ ahû vairyo, 'as a patron spirit is desirable.' It is supposed to have been uttered by Aûhar Mazda, for the discomfiture of Aharman, on the first appearance of that evil spirit in the universe (see Bd. I, 21).

⁴ L19 has 'all the angels of the spiritual and worldly existences.'

⁵ L19 has u shnâisn, 'and the propitiation.'

⁶ L19 has 'his.'

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Who is the more forgiving (vakhshay_a. ktar)? 3. What is the more in strength? 4. What is the swifter¹? 5. What is the happier? 6. What is the more miserable²?'

7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus : 'Aû-harmazd, the lord, is the more forgiving. 9. He saw³ the nine thousand years' mischief⁴ among his own creatures, owing to Aharman, yet afterwards, through justice and forgiveness, he does not then smite him *for* it⁵.

10. 'And the *celestial* sphere is the more in strength. 11. The intellect⁶ of mankind is the swifter. 12. The souls of the righteous are the happier. 13. *And* those of the wicked are the more penitent⁷.'

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What is it necessary to keep with more regard and more protection?'

¹ Or 'sharper.'

² L19 adds 'what is the more hopeless?'

³ L19 has 'who sees.'

⁴ The period appointed for the conflict between the good and evil spirits (see Chap. VIII, 11).

⁵ Reading êdinasas, which Nêr. has misread ainâs, 'otherwise him.' L19 has 'yet then, except with justice and patience, he does not smite him otherwise.' It is also possible to read 'he does not smite him without listening (agûshas).'

⁶ L19 has 'the thought.'

⁷ L19 has 'the more miserable and more hopeless.'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'It is necessary to keep a young serving-boy (*rasik*)¹, a wife, a beast of *burden*, and a fire with more protection and more regard.'

CHAPTER XXX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Which of any living *existence* (*zivêndag-i*) is the worse? 3. And in wisdom who is the more unforeseeing²?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'A life of him is the worse, who lives in fear and falsehood³. 6. And in wisdom he is the more unforeseeing, who does not provide for⁴ the spiritual *existence*, and attends to the worldly *one*.'

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'What is the business of the priests, warriors, and husbandmen⁵, each separately?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'The business of the priests is to maintain the religion properly; (5) and to perform the ceremonial and invocation of the sacred beings well *and* with atten-

¹ L19 has 'a young boy (*redak*).'

² Literally, 'more unforeknowing (*apasdânîktar*).' L19 has 'more unapprovable (*apasandasnîtar*).'

³ See Chap. XIX, 6.

⁴ L19 has 'does not believe in.'

⁵ The three classes which are often mentioned in the Avesta as constituting the Mazda-worshipping community. For their vices, see Chap. LIX.

tion, (6) and¹ the decrees, decisions², custom, and control³, as revealed by the pure, good religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers. 7. To make people aware of the goodness of good works⁴; (8) and to show the way to heaven, and the danger and avoidance of hell.

9. 'The business of the warriors is to defeat the enemy; (10) and to keep their own country and land (*bûm*)⁵ unalarmed and tranquil.

11. 'And the business of the husbandmen is to perform tillage and cultivation; (12) and, to the extent of *their* ability, to keep the world invigorated and populous.'

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'What is the business of the well-endeavouring⁶, the artizans?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'The business of the artizans is this, (5) that *as to* that work which they do not understand, they do not bring a hand to it; (6) and that which they well'

¹ L19 inserts 'to keep true.'

² K43 has *dâd dâdîstân*, 'decisions of the law;' but the repetition of the syllable *dâd* is probably a clerical blunder.

³ L19 omits *va band*, 'and control.'

⁴ L19 has 'aware of good works and sin.'

⁵ L19 has *vîmand*, 'frontier.'

⁶ The *hûtûkhshân* (Av. *hûiti*) are the fourth class of the community, and are very rarely mentioned in the Avesta, possibly because they were originally enslaved outcasts or aborigines, as in other ancient communities. The passage where they are specially mentioned (Yas. XIX, 46) is probably taken from the Bagh Nask (see Sls. X, 26 n; XIII, 1 n, 9 n).

⁷ L19 omits 'well.'

understand (hû-dânend), they perform well *and* with attention; (7) and they demand wages lawfully. (8). For *as to him* who persists in doing that work which¹ he does not understand, it is *he* *by* whom that work is spoiled and becomes useless; and when, moreover, he is a man whose work makes himself satisfied, it then becomes even an origin of sin for him.'

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'As to a ruler², (3) a chieftain, (4) a friend, (5) a kinsman, (6) a wife, (7) a child, (8) and a country, which is the worse?'

9. The spirit of wisdom answered (10) thus: 'That ruler is the worse, that is not able to keep the country unalarmed, and the people untroubled.

11. That chieftain is the worse, who is defective in ability, unthankful unto agents (*karḍârân*), and no helper and interceder for a servant (*asâk*)³.

12. That friend is the worse, who is not fit to be relied upon. 13. That kinsman is the worse, who is no helper in illness (*khastânak*)⁴.

14. That wife is the worse, with whom it is not possible to live with pleasure. 15. That child is the worse, who is no bringer of renown.'

16. And that country is the worse, in which it is not possible to live in happiness, fearlessness, and permanence.'

¹ L19 omits 'work,' and K43 omits 'which.'

² L19 makes §§ 2-7 each a separate question, by adding 'which is the worse' to each, as in § 8.

³ L19 has *asâgardân*, 'disciples.'

⁴ Or, 'in accident (*hastânak*).'

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Has the creator Aûharmazd produced the creation of anything whatever for the worldly *existence*¹, unto which Aharman is not able to bring disturbance?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'To him who is a wise and contented man it is *but* little possible to bring disturbance.'

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How many are those people whom it is necessary to consider as rich, and how many are those who are poor?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'These are the people it is necessary to consider as rich:—(5) one is he who is perfect in wisdom; (6) the second, whose body is healthy, and he lives fearlessly; (7) the third, who is content with that which has come; (8) the fourth, he whose destiny is a helper in virtue; (9) the fifth, who is well-famed in the eyes of the sacred beings, and *by* the tongues of the good; (10) the sixth, whose trust is on this one, pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers; (11) *and* the seventh, whose wealth is from honesty.

12. 'And these are the people to be considered as poor:—(13) one is he *with* whom there is no wisdom; (14) the second, whose body is not healthy; (15) the third, who lives in his fear, terror², and falsehood; (16) the fourth, who is not ruling in his

¹ L19 omits these four words.

² L19 omits 'terror.'

own body; (17) the fifth, whose destiny is no helper; (18) the sixth, who is infamous in the eyes of the sacred beings, and *on* the tongues of the good; (19) *and* the seventh, who is old, *and* no child and kindred exist.'

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Which sin is the more heinous?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Of the sin which people commit, unnatural intercourse is the more heinous. 5. The second is *he*, who *has* suffered *or* performed intercourse with men. 6. The third, who slays a righteous man. 7. The fourth, who breaks off a next-of-kin marriage¹. 8. The fifth, who destroys the arrangement of an adopted son (*satôr*)². 9. The sixth, who smites the fire of Varahrâm³. 10. The seventh, who kills a water-beaver⁴. 11. The eighth, who worships an idol.

¹ See Chap. IV, 4 n.

² If a man has not appointed an adopted son during his lifetime, and leaves property producing an income of eighty-four *rûpîs* or more, but no privileged wife, or child, or domesticated brother, fit for the duty of guardianship, then an adopted son must be appointed by his nearest relations after his death (see Dd. LVI-LX).

³ The sacred fire, named after the angel Varahrâm or Vâhrâm (see Chap. II, 115).

⁴ The *baprakô-î âvîk* is the Av. *bawris upâpô*, with whose skins *Ardvîsûra*, the angel of water, is said to be clothed (*Âbân Yt.* 129). It is said to have been 'created in opposition to the demon which is in the water' (see Bd. XIX, 29). Whether it is the same as the Av. *udra upâpa*, 'water-otter,' is not quite certain; but killing the latter was considered (for some reason not clearly ascertained) a very heinous sin, for which the proper atonement is fully detailed in Vend. XIV.

12. The ninth, who believes and wishes to worship in every religion. 13. The tenth, who consumes anything which is received into his custody, and becomes an embezzler. 14. The eleventh is he who, through sinfulness, provides support for wickedness¹. 15. The twelfth, who does no work, but eats unthankfully and unlawfully. 16. The thirteenth, who commits heresy (zandîkîh)². 17. The fourteenth, who commits witchcraft. 18. The fifteenth, who commits apostasy (aharmôkîh)³. 19. The sixteenth, who *commits*⁴ demon-worship. 20. The seventeenth, who *commits* theft, or abetting (avâgîdîh) of thieves. 21. The eighteenth, who *commits* promise-breaking⁵. 22. The nineteenth, who *commits* maliciousness. 23. The twentieth, who commits oppression to make the things of others his own. 24. The twenty-first, who dis-

¹ L19 has 'falsehood.'

² The term zandîk, according to Mas'aûdî (chap. xxiv), was first applied to the Manicheans, and afterwards to all others who followed the commentary (zand) in preference to the Avesta; finally, however, the Arabs applied the term to the Persians, probably with its acquired meaning of 'heretic' or 'infidel.' A different explanation of the term is given in Pahl. Yas. LX, 11, where it is stated that 'Zand is the apostle of the wizards, and through Zand it is possible to perform witchcraft.' The Sanskrit version here adds, 'that is, he thinks well of Aharman and the demons;' and in PA10 it continues thus: 'the atheist's religion, the wicked way *that* there is no creator, there is no heaven, there is no hell, there is no resurrection, and so on; such is the meaning.'

³ From Av. ashemaogha, 'disturbing righteousness.' Nêr. adds in Sanskrit, 'that is, having thoroughly known the meaning of the Avesta, he becomes deceived.'

⁴ As the verb in § 23 can apply, in Pahlavi, to any number of preceding sections, it is omitted by K43 in §§ 19-22. The verb is also omitted by K43 in § 25 for a similar reason.

⁵ Or 'breach of contract.'

tresses a righteous man. 25. The twenty-second, who *commits* slander. 26. The twenty-third, who commits arrogance. 27. The twenty-fourth, who goes to a professional courtesan¹. 28. The twenty-fifth, who commits ingratitude. 29. The twenty-sixth, who speaks false and untrue². 30. The twenty-seventh, who causes discontent as to the affairs of those who are departed³. 31. The twenty-eighth, whose pleasure is from viciousness *and* harassing the good. 32. The twenty-ninth, who considers sin as to be urged on, and a good work as a day's delay⁴. 33. *And* the thirtieth, who becomes grieved by that happiness which is provided by him for any one.'

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Through how many ways and motives of good works do people arrive most at heaven?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'The first good work is liberality⁵. 5. The second, truth. 6. The third, thankfulness. 7. The fourth, contentment. 8. The fifth, wanting to produce welfare for the good, and becoming a friend to every one. 9. The sixth, being without doubt as to this, that the

¹ Such appears to be the meaning of *zan-î kârân*. L19 has *zan-î kasân*, 'the wives of others.'

² Or 'irreverent,' according as we read *arâstô* or *anâstô*.

³ L19 has 'secluded and departed,' similar to Chap. XXXVII, 23.

⁴ It is doubtful whether *sîpang*, 'a halting-place,' or *sîpôg*, 'setting aside,' should be read; but the meaning is practically the same.

⁵ Compare Chap. IV, which divides good works into seven classes.

sky and earth and every benefit of the worldly and spiritual *existences* are owing to the creator Aûhar-mazd. 10. The seventh, *being so* as to the unquestionableness of this¹, that all misery and affliction are owing to Aharman the wicked, who is accursed. 11. The eighth, freedom from doubt as to the resurrection and future existence. 12. The ninth, who for love of the soul effects² a next-of-kin marriage. 13. The tenth, who arranges adoption³. 14. The eleventh, who practises regular industry. 15. The twelfth, who is without doubt in this pure, good religion of the Mazdâ-worshippers. 16. The thirteenth, who is kindly regardful as to the ability and means of every one. 17. The fourteenth, who perceives⁴ the kind regard of the good, and becomes himself, also, kindly regardful as to the goodness which *one* wants among the good. 18. The fifteenth, who seeks the affection of the good. 19. The sixteenth, who keeps malice and uncharitableness far from *his* mind. 20. The seventeenth, who bears no improper envy. 21. The eighteenth, who forms no desire of lust. 22. The nineteenth, who produces no discord with any one. 23. The twentieth, who brings no distress into the affairs of a departed and unassisted *one* (*avigid*)⁵. 24. The twenty-first, who

¹ By the transposition of two words L19 has 'freedom from doubt as to this.'

² Whether for himself, or for another, is uncertain (see Chap. IV, 4 n).

³ Nêr. explains in Sanskrit, thus: 'that is, whoever becomes a spirit childless, maintains any man, with his wealth, for his fame and his lineage, then thus the soul, too, is for an increase of good works.'

⁴ L19 transposes the two verbs, 'perceives' and 'wants.'

⁵ Nêr. reads *avazîd*, which he identifies with Pers. 'hazîd, 'con-

lets¹ no wrath into *his* body. 25. The twenty-second, who commits no sin on account of disgrace². 26. The twenty-third, who forms no desire of lethargy on account of laziness. 27. The twenty-fourth, who is without doubt as to the sacred beings. 28. The twenty-fifth, who is without doubt as to the existence of heaven and hell, and the account which is *to be rendered* by the soul, the glory which is in heaven, and the misery which is in hell. 29. The twenty-sixth, who abstains³ from slander and envious looks. 30. The twenty-seventh, who causes the happiness of himself, and gives happy advancement also to others. 31. The twenty-eighth, who becomes the help⁴ of the good, and accuser of the bad. 32. The twenty-ninth, who restrains himself from deceit and evil (dûsîh)⁵. 33. The thirtieth, who does not speak false and untrue⁶. 34. The thirty-first, who restrains himself firmly from promise-breaking. 35. The thirty-second, who, for the sake of seeking his own benefit and happiness, causes the abstinence of others from evil. 36. *And* the thirty-third, who provides lodging accommodation for the sick and secluded⁷ and traders.'

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore *is it* when they do not allot the happiness

ceased, secluded;' and which might also be taken in the sense of one who has 'crawled,' meaning a young child; but the identification is doubtful.

¹ LI9 has 'keeps.'

² That is, 'for fear of disgrace.'

³ LI9 has 'restrains himself.'

⁴ LI9 has 'helper.'

⁵ LI9 has *hva d-dôshî*, 'self-conceit.'

⁶ See Chap. XXXVI, 29 n.

⁷ See Chap. XV, 6 n.

of the worldly *existence* according to worthiness, and they make the soul a seizer upon the spiritual *existences* by worthiness of action ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'On account of the compassion of Aûharmazd, the lord, as regards the creatures, he allots all happiness alike among the good and alike among the bad. 5. But when it does not always come upon them, *it is* on account of the oppression of Aharman and the demons, and the extortion of those seven planets ¹.

6. 'And they make *one*² a seizer upon the spiritual *existences*, by worthiness of action, on this account, because the wickedness of any³ one arises through the performance of his own actions.'

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which power is the more seemly ? 3. In wisdom who is the more complete ? 4. And in disposition who is the more faithful ? 5. Whose speech is the more proper ? 6. In whose mind is the goodness little⁴ ? 7. And as a friend who is the worse ? 8. In whose mind is the pleasure little ? 9. In heart who is the more seemly ? 10. In endurance who is the more approvable ? 11. Who is not to be considered as faithful ? 12. What is that which is worth keeping with every one ? 13. And what

¹ Which are supposed to be agents of Aharman for causing misfortune to the creatures (see Chaps. VIII, 19, 20; XII, 7-10).

² L19 has 'the soul.'

³ L19 has 'every.'

⁴ L19 has 'much the more,' to correspond with a different reply in § 26.

is that which is not to be kept with any one? 14. What is to be preserved in conversation? 15. Who is he that is not to be accepted as a witness? 16. And unto whom is it necessary to be obedient? 17. What is it more necessary to mind and to keep praising? 18. What is that which is not to be made unrespected in any way? 19. What is he who, in his own degree, is said *to be* such as Aûhar'mazd and the archangels? 20. And what is he who, in his own degree, is¹ such as Aharman and the demons?'

21. The spirit of wisdom answered (22) thus: 'In power he is the more seemly who, when he indulges his wrath, is able to allay the wrath, and not commit sin and gratify himself. 23. And in wisdom he is the more complete who is able to preserve his own soul. 24. In disposition he is the more faithful, in whom there is nothing whatever *of* deceit and pretence. 25. The speech of him is the more proper who speaks more true. 26. Goodness is little in the mind of a man of wrath². 27. As a friend, a malicious man who is a fighter is worse. 28. And pleasure is little in the mind of him who is an envious man. 29. In heart he is the more seemly who abandons the worldly *existence* and seizes the spiritual *one*; (30) and by his own will accepts righteousness as a yoke (*val kavarman*)³. 31. And in endurance he is the more approvable who⁴,

¹ L19 has 'is said *to be*.'

² L19 has 'goodness is more in an humble-minded man,' so as to correspond with the difference in its question in § 6.

³ Literally, 'for the neck.' Nêr. has misread *val-i-k valman* (Pâz. ô-ka ôi), and has 'by his own will for it, also accepts righteousness.'

⁴ From this point to Chap. XL, 17, the Pahlavi text of K43 is missing, owing to the loss of one folio in that MS. The copy of

[contentedly and with a will, accepts, as a yoke¹,] the misery and affliction which [come upon] him [from Aharman and the demons and the vile; (32) *and* it, in no way, harasses his own soul. 33. He is not to be considered as faithful who has no fear of the sacred beings, *nor* shame as to mankind. 34. Those which are worth keeping with every one are peace and affection. 35. And those which are not to be kept with any one whatever are malice *and* discord. 36. All² these three are to be preserved in conversation: good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds in one's own thinking, speaking, *and* doing. 37. These three are not to be accepted as a witness: a woman³, a young serving-boy⁴, and a man-slave. 38. These are such as must be personally obedient *and* do service: (39) the wife unto the husband, (40) and the child unto the father and mother, the chieftain⁵ and high-priest, the teacher⁶, the adopted son⁷, and secluded⁸ kindred. 41. *And* unto rulers, chieftains, *and* teachers *one* is also to be obedient. 42. The sacred beings it is more necessary to mind and to keep praising. 43. And one's own soul is not to be made⁹ unrespected in any mode, (44) *and* is always to be kept

TDz is, therefore, followed, and its translation is enclosed in brackets.

¹ See § 39 n.

² L19 omits 'all.'

³ Or 'a wife,' as both meanings are expressed by the same word, and, in fact, every woman is expected to become a wife.

⁴ L19 has 'a young boy,' as in Chap. XXIX, 4.

⁵ The word *sardâr* (Pâz. *sâlâr*) also means 'guardian.'

⁶ L19 inserts 'and fire.'

⁷ See Chap. XXXVI, 8 n. As the adopted son takes the place of the deceased father, he must be obeyed accordingly by the whole family.

⁸ See Chap. XV, 6 n.

⁹ L19 has 'considered.'

in remembrance. 45. The judge who exercises true justice, *and* takes no bribe, is ¹, in his own degree, such as Aûharmazd and the archangels. 46. And he who exercises false justice is said *to be*, in his own degree, such as Aharman and the demons.'

CHAPTER XL.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'What is the colder and what is the warmer? 3. What is the brighter and what is the darker? 4. What is the fuller and what is the emptier ²? 5. What end is the more fruitless ³? 6. What is that thing of which no superfluity arises *for* any one? 7. What is that which no one is able to deprive *one* of? 8. What is that thing which it is not possible to buy at a price? 9. What is that thing with which every one is always ⁴ satisfied? 10. What is that with which no one ⁵ whatever is satisfied? 11. What is that one wish that Aûharmazd, the lord, *contemplates* ⁶ as regards men? 12. What is that one wish that Aharman, the wicked, contemplates as regards men? 13. What is the end of the worldly *existence* and what is the end of ⁷ the spiritual *one*?'

14. The spirit of wisdom answered (15) thus: 'The heart of the righteous is the warmer, and that

¹ L19 has 'is said *to be*.'

² Reading tôhîktar, both here and in § 17; L19 has tangîtar, as if for tangtar, 'narrower,' in both places.

³ TD2 has 'fearless,' but this does not correspond with § 18.

⁴ L19 omits 'always.'

⁵ L19 has 'nothing.'

⁶ The verb in § 12 is sufficient in Pahlavi for this section also.

⁷ L19 omits these five words.

of the wicked the colder. 16. Righteousness is the brighter, and wickedness the darker. 17. The hope and protection which *pertain* to the sacred beings]¹ are the fuller, and those which *pertain* to the demons are the emptier². 18. The end of the world-arranging and spirit-destroying man is the more fruitless. 19. It is knowledge of which no one knows a superfluity. 20. It is learning and skill which no one is able to deprive *one* of. 21. It is understanding and intellect which it is not possible to buy at a price. 22. It is wisdom with which every one and one's own self are untroubled and satisfied. 23. It is stupidity and ignorance with which every one and even one's own self are troubled and not satisfied.

24. 'That one wish which Aûharmazd, the lord, contemplates as regards men is this, (25) that "ye shall fully understand me; for every *one* who fully understands me, comes after me and strives for my satisfaction." 26. And that one wish which Aharman contemplates as regards men is this, (27) that "ye shall not understand me;" for he knows that whoever fully understands that wicked *one*, does not go after his evil deeds³, (28) and nothing whatever of power and help for him arises⁴ from that man.

29. 'And *as to* that which is asked by thee concerning the spiritual and worldly *existences*, the worldly *existence* is, in the end, death and disappearance, (30) and of the spiritual *existence*, in the end,

¹ From this point the translation again follows the Pahlavi text of K43.

² See § 4 n.

³ L19 has 'for whoever fully understands me *as* wicked, *his* deeds do not go after me.'

⁴ L19 has 'nothing whatever of advantage and help comes to me.'

that of a soul of the righteous is undecaying, immortal, and undisturbed, full of glory and full of enjoyment, for ever and everlasting, with the angels and archangels and the guardian spirits¹ of the righteous. 31. And the bridge² and destruction³ and punishment of the wicked in hell are for ever and everlasting⁴. 32. And the wicked soul, apart from the punishment, contemplates the existence, and even the appearance⁵, with the demons and fiends just as, in the worldly *existence*, a healthy man *does that* with him who is very grievously sick.'

CHAPTER XLI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which man is the mightier? 3. Which road is the more dreadful? 4. Which account is the more

¹ The guardian spirits are the spiritual representatives of each individual being and thing of the good creation, which are supposed to have been all created by Aûharmazd in the beginning (see Chap. XLIX, 23, Bd. I, 8).

² That is the investigation into the character of the soul at the Kîndvar bridge (see Chap. II, 115, 162). L19 omits this mention of the bridge.

³ Reading drûs, as in L19, but this is doubtful.

⁴ This phrase can be used either with reference to time or to eternity. Time which lasts for ever must end at the resurrection, as in this case (see Chap. II, 193), because time then ceases to exist. But eternity which lasts for ever can never end. If this phrase had the same meaning here as in § 30, it would contradict all the other statements regarding the fate of the wicked, which are to be found in Pahlavi literature, including those of the author himself.

⁵ L19 has 'the wicked soul contemplates being apart from the punishment, and also apart from appearance.'

perplexing? 5. Which tie¹ is the pleasanter? 6. Which work is the more regrettable? 7. And which gift is the more unprofitable?’

8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus: ‘That man is the mightier who is able to struggle with his own fiends²; (10) and, in particular, *he* who keeps these five fiends far from *his* person, (11) which are such as greediness, wrath, lust, disgrace, and discontent. 12. The road in passing over the Kindvar bridge³ is the more dreadful. 13. The account for a soul of the wicked is the more perplexing. 14. The tie of children is the pleasanter and more desirable. 15. That work is the more regrettable which they do for the ungrateful. 16. *And* that gift is the more unprofitable which they give to the unworthy⁴.’

CHAPTER XLII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘How many kinds of man are *there*?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘*There* are three kinds of man, (5) one is man, one is demi-man, and one is demi-demon.

6. ‘A man is he who is without doubt as to the creativeness of Aûhar^{ma}zda, the destructiveness of Aharman, and the existence of the resurrection and future existence; and also *as regards* every other happiness and misery, in the worldly and spiritual

¹ K43 has bôî, ‘scent,’ which is distinguished from band, ‘tie,’ only by diacritical marks in Pahlavi.

² His own passions and failings personified as fiends.

³ See Chap. II, 115, 162.

⁴ L19 has ‘to the ungrateful and unworthy.’

existences, (7) that *its* origin is from both of those *beings*, from Aûharmazd and Aharman. 8. And his belief is in this one pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers; (9) and he does not believe in, and does not hearken unto, any heterodoxy.

10. 'A demi-man is he who performs the affairs of the worldly and spiritual *existences* according to his own opinion, self-conceitedly and obstinately; (11) be they duties and good works by the will of Aûharmazd, *or* be they by the will of Aharman, they proceed from him.

12. 'A demi-demon is he in whom *there* is only as *it were* the name of man¹ and the human race, *but* in his doing of every action *he* is then like unto a two-legged demon. 13. He understands no worldly and no spiritual *existence*, (14) he understands no good work and no sin, (15) he understands no heaven and no hell, (16) and even the account which is *to be rendered* by the soul he does not think of.'

CHAPTER XLIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How is it possible to make Aûharmazd, the arch-angels, and the fragrant, well-pleasing heaven more fully for oneself? 3. And how is it possible to make Aharman, the wicked, and the demons confounded, and to escape from hell, the depreciated² and dark?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'To make Aûharmazd, the lord, and the archangels, and

¹ L19 has 'humanity.'

² Reading dûs-yahâk. Nêr. has misread the word dus-gand 'evil-smelling,' both here and in §§ 5, 14.

the fragrant, well-pleasing heaven for oneself, and¹ Aharman, the wicked, and the demons confounded, and to escape from hell, the dark and depreciated, are possible thus: (6) that is, when they make the spirit of wisdom a protection for the back (pûstik-pânakîh), (7) and wear the spirit of contentment on the body, like arms and armour and valour (8) and make the spirit of truth² a shield, (9) the spirit of thankfulness a club, (10) the spirit of complete mindfulness a bow, (11) and the spirit of liberality an arrow; (12) and they make the spirit of moderation like a spear, (13) the spirit of perseverance a gauntlet, and they put forth the spirit of destiny as a protection³. 14. In this manner it is possible to come to heaven and the sight of the sacred beings, and to escape from Aharman, the wicked, and hell, the depreciated.'

CHAPTER XLIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How are the sky and earth arranged? 3. How are the flow and arrangement of the water in the world? 4. Whereon do the clouds rest? 5. Where is the demon of winter more predominant? 6. And which country is the more undisturbed?'

7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus: 'The sky and earth and water, and whatever else is within

¹ L19 repeats 'to make,' but this is no more necessary in Pahlavi than in English.

² L19 inserts 'like' in §§ 8-11, and omits the verb 'make' in §§ 8, 12.

³ §§ 6-13 bear some resemblance to Isaiah lix. 17 and Ephesians vi. 14-17, so far as mode of expression is concerned.

*them*¹ are egg-like (khâiyak-dîs), just as *it were*² like the egg of a bird. 9. The sky is arranged above the earth³, like an egg, by the handiwork of the creator Aûharmazd; (10) and the semblance of the earth, in the midst of the sky⁴, is just like as *it were* the yolk amid the egg; [(11) and the water within the earth and sky is such as the water within the egg.]⁵

12. 'And the flow of the water of every kind which is in the world is from the region of Arzah⁶ (13) there where the sun comes up⁷; and *its* downward surge (nîgun bâlîsnö)⁸ is towards the region of Savah (14) where⁹ the sun goes down; and the

¹ L19 has 'within the sky.'

² L19 has 'are so arranged as.' The reading of dîs, 'like,' is rather uncertain.

³ L19 adds 'and below the earth.'

⁴ L19 has 'and the earth within the sky.'

⁵ § 11 is taken from PB6, but is not found in any other Pâzand or Pârsî MS. consulted, nor in the Pahlavi text of K43; it is, therefore, probably an interpolation.

⁶ See Chap. XVI, 10 n.

⁷ This clause and the corresponding one in § 14 seem to be at variance with the statements of Bd. V, 8, XI, 3, that Arzah is in the west, and Savah in the east; Nêryôsang has, therefore, transferred the conjunction 'and' to the beginning of the section in both cases, so as to make the eastern waters flow towards Savah, and the western waters into the sea. If, however, we understand 'there' to mean 'in those places,' and not to refer to the region whose name it follows, we may conclude that the statement here is to the effect that in the east the water flows from Arzah (the western region), and in the west towards Savah (the eastern region), which might be true if we place the east in China or Bengal, and the west in Armenia or Mesopotamia, but it is more probably meant merely to imply that the whole of the water flows through the central region of Khvanîras.

⁸ L19 has anbârisnö, 'accumulation,' both here and in § 14.

⁹ L19 has 'there where;' and we must understand 'in those places where,' as in § 13.

surging on (âbâlisnô) of the water is into the sea Pûtik¹, (15) and from the sea Pûtik it goes back to the sea Varkash².

16. 'The abode and seat of the clouds are on Albûr³.

17. 'The demon of winter is more predominant in Airân-vêgô⁴. 18. And *it* is declared by revelation⁵, (19) that in Airân-vêgô *there* are "ten months winter and two months summer," (20) *and* "even those" two months of warm weather "are cold *as to water*, cold *as to earth*, and cold *as to plants*." 21. And their adversity⁶ is the winter, (22) and the snakes therein are many, (23) while their other adversity is little.

24. '*It* is declared that Aûharmazd created Airân-vêgô better than other places and districts⁷.

¹ Av. Pûtika, which Bd. XIII, 8-11 appears to identify with the Persian Gulf, but in early times, if not altogether mythic, it was probably some inlet of the Caspian or Aral.

² Av. Vouru-kasha; in Pahlavi it is usually called 'the wide-formed,' and in Bd. XIII, 1, 8-10 it is identified with the ocean; but in early times it was probably a term for the Caspian and Aral, when not applied to the mythic sea of the sky.

³ Av. hara berezaiti, 'a lofty mountain-range,' which is said, in Chap. LVII, 13 and in the Bundahis, to surround the world and to be the origin of all mountains (see Bd. V, 3-5, XII, 1-4). In early times it appears to have been the name of mountains to the east of the first Irânian settlements, before it was transferred to the mountain range south of the Caspian (see Geiger's Ost. Kul. pp. 42-45).

⁴ Av. Airyanem vaêgô, the first settlement of the Irânians, which Geiger (Ost. Kul. pp. 30-33) places on the upper waters of the Zarafsân river, and which Bd. XXIX, 12 describes, in accordance with late tradition, as 'in the direction of Âtûr-pâtakîn (Âdar-bîgân).'

⁵ Vend. I, 9, 10.

⁶ Produced by the evil spirit (see Vend. I, 7, 8).

⁷ This is inferred from Vend. I, 2-4.

25. And its goodness is this, that the life of the people is three hundred years¹, (26) and of the oxen and sheep one hundred and fifty years. 27. Their pain and sickness, also, are little; (28) they fabricate (*drûgênd*)² no lies, (29) they make no lamentation and weeping, (30) and the domination of the demon of greediness (*âz*) in their bodies is little. 31. When they eat one loaf among ten men, they are satisfied. 32. And in every forty years one child is born from one woman and one man³. 33. Their law, also, is goodness, and *their* religion the primitive faith⁴; (34) and when they die they are righteous⁵. 35. Their *spiritual* chief (*ratû*), likewise, is Gôpatô⁶, and *their* lord and king is Srôsh⁷.

CHAPTER XLV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'By what does Aharman most deceive and lead people to hell?' 3. And from what is his pleasure most? 4. Where is the place he has a foundation?

¹ Compare Chap. LXII, 18.

² L19 has *drenzineud*, 'they cause to repeat.'

³ Compare Chap. LXII, 17.

⁴ Av. *paotiyô-dkaêsha*, a term applied to the true Mazda-worshipping religion of all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratûst.

⁵ That is, they go at once to heaven, as the righteous soul does (see Chap. II, 123-157).

⁶ L19 has Gôpatshâh, 'the king of Gôpat' (as in Chap. LXII, 8, 31), which land is described in Dd. XC, 4 as 'coterminous with Afrân-vêgô.' Aghrêrad and his son are called kings of Gôpat in Bd. XXIX, 5, XXXI, 22; and Gôk-patô is said to be 'in the non-Aryan countries,' in the Sûd'kar Nask (see Dd. XC, 8 n).

⁷ Apparently the angel Srôsh (see Chap. II, 115).

5. Where, also, is his coming, *together* with the demons, most? 6. And from what is his food?

7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus: 'Aharman deceives people most by prosperity and adversity¹, the fiend of apostasy, scepticism, and covetousness. 9. His pleasure, also, is most from the discord of men. 10. And his food is from the impenitence² and reticence of men. 11. He has a foundation in the malicious³. 12. And his coming and going are most with the wrathful.'

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus. 'Which is the one⁴ oppression, as regards men, *that* Aharman considers as the more injurious and great?

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Aharman, when he wrings life and wife and child and worldly happiness of every kind away from men, does not consider, as to this, that any injury whatever is inflicted by him upon that person; (5) but when he wrings away the soul of a single *individual*, and makes it utterly depraved, he then considers, as to this, that "an injury which is complete would thereby be inflicted by me," because this is done by him through his own depravity of wish and action⁵.'

¹ Or 'superfluity and scarcity.'

² Assuming that *apatôtakîh* stands for *apatîtakîh*, 'non-renunciation of sin.' L19 has 'immoderate eating.'

³ L19 has 'in the slanderous and malicious.'

⁴ L19 omits 'one.'

⁵ The last fourteen words occur only in the Pahlavi text of K43.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What is that thing *which* is the most perfect of all wealth ? 3. What is that which is predominant over everything whatever ? 4. And what is that from which no one is able to escape ?'

5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus : 'It is wisdom which is better than the wealth of every kind which is in the world. 7. It is destiny which is predominant over every one and everything. 8. And *it is* Vâê the bad¹ from whom no one is able to escape.'

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How is the dwelling of the understanding and intellect and seed of men in the body ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'The place of the understanding and intellect and seed of men is in the brain of the head. 5. And when the brain of the head is sound, the understanding and intellect and seed are on the increase ; (6) *but* when a person attains unto old age, the brain of the head remains only at a diminution. 7. And he who is an aged man, on account of the diminution of understanding and intellect, sees less and knows less of that which it is necessary to do with wisdom. 8. Wisdom, in the beginning, mingles with the marrow of the fingers of men's hands ; (9) and, afterwards,

¹ The demon which conveys the soul to its account (see Chap. II, 115).

its seat and abode and place¹ are in the heart. 10. And its dwelling² in the whole body becomes such as the shape of the foot in various shoes (mûg-akö).³

CHAPTER XLIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'As to these stars which are apparent in the sky, and their number is so great, what is then their duty and influence? 3. And how is the motion of the sun and moon and stars?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'Of the stars which are in the sky the first star is Tistar⁴, which is said to be great and good, more valuable and more glorious⁵. 6. And prosperity of every kind and the fertility of the world are in the path of Tistar.

7, 8. 'And the star of water germs is for the increase of the star of plant germs⁶. 9, 10. And the star of plant germs is for the increase of cattle germs⁷.

¹ L19 has 'its seat and abiding place.'

² L19 has 'and the dwelling of the soul.'

³ L19 has 'in the shoe.'

⁴ Av. Tistrya, the eastern leader of the stars and special opponent of the planet Tîr (Mercury), which can be identified only with Sirius. It is personified as an angel who contends with the demon of drought and produces rain (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1, VII, 1-13).

⁵ The usual Avesta epithets of Tistar are 'the radiant and glorious.'

⁶ L19 has 'for the increase of water. And the star of earth germs is for the increase of earth.'

⁷ L19 has 'for the increase of plants. And the star of cattle germs is for the increase of cattle.' The stars of water, earth, and plant germs are mentioned in the formula of dedication to Tistar (Sir. 13), and the moon is said to possess the germs of cattle (Sir. 12).

11. And water, fire¹, plant, and cattle germs are created for the increase of man germs².

12. 'And the star Vanand³ is intrusted with the passes *and* gates of Albûrs⁴; (13) so that the demons and witches and fiends *may* turn from those gates and passes, (14) that *it may* not *be* possible for them to cut off and break up the road and passage of the sun and moon and stars⁵.

15. 'And the star Haptók-ring⁶, with 99,999 guardian spirits of the righteous⁷, is intrusted with the gate and passage of hell⁸, (16) for the keeping

Reference is also made to all of them in Rashnu Yt. 29-31, 33, and to those of water germs in Vend. XXI, 33, Tîstar Yt. 39, 45, 46.

¹ L19 has 'earth.'

² L19 has 'for the increase of men.' As both the Pahlavi and Pâzand versions of §§ 7-11 are complete and consistent in themselves, it is uncertain which of them gives the original text. The Pâzand corresponds more closely to certain passages in the Avesta, but a wish to produce such a correspondence may have led Nêr-yôsang to alter the text. That the Pahlavi writer was thinking of some other passage, as yet unidentified, is evident from the omission of the star Satavêš (which follows Tîstar in Sir. 13) and from the details he gives concerning the others.

³ The southern leader of the stars and special opponent of the planet Aûharmazd (Jupiter), which is perhaps best identified with Fomalhaut (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1). The Avesta mentions it in connection with Tîstar (Sir. 13).

⁴ See Chap. XLIV, 16 n.

⁵ Which are supposed to rise and set through openings or passes in the mountain range of Albûrz, which encircles the world (see Bd. V, 5).

⁶ Av. Haptôiringa, the northern leader of the stars and special opponent of the planet Vâhrâm (Mars), which corresponds to Ursa Major (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1). The Avesta mentions it, in connection with the other stars named in the text, in Sir. 13.

⁷ See Fravardîn Yt. 60. The number here mentioned is that generally used in the Avesta to express an indefinitely large number.

⁸ Which is supposed to be in the north, so that the circumpolar

back of those 99,999 demons and fiends, witches and wizards, who are in opposition to the *celestial* sphere and constellations *of the zodiac*. 17. Its motion, also, is round about hell; (18) and its special business is this, as *it were* it holds the twelve signs of the zodiac by the hand, in *their* proper going and coming. 19. And those twelve constellations also proceed *in* like manner by the power and help of Haptôk-ring¹; (20) and every single constellation, when it comes in at Albûrz, provides support for Haptôk-ring², (21) and begs protection from Haptôk-ring.

22. 'The remaining unnumbered and innumerable constellations³ which are apparent are said *to be* the guardian spirits of the worldly *existences*. 23. Because, *as to* the creatures and creations of every kind, that the creator Aûhar Mazda created for the worldly *existence*, which are procreative and also which are developable (ârôdisnîk)⁴, for every single body *there* is apparent its own single guardian spirit of a like nature.

24. 'And the motion of the sun and moon is the special illumination of the world, (25) and the maturing of procreations and growths of all kinds. 26. And the correct keeping of the day, month, and year, summer and winter, spring and autumn, and other calculations and accounts of all kinds which men ought to obtain, perceive, and understand, (27)

constellation of Ursa Major seems to revolve around it, and to remain on the watch.

¹ Written Haptâôrig in §§ 19-21 in K₄₃.

² L₁₉ has 'holds to Haptôk-ring by the hand.'

³ L₁₉ has 'stars.'

⁴ L₁₉ has azâisnî, 'unprocreative.'

are more fully defined by means of the setting (nisīva kō)¹ of the sun and moon.'

CHAPTER L.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which is that opulent *person* who is to be considered as fortunate, and which is that *one* who is to be considered as evil-conditioned?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'That *one* who has produced opulence by proper exertion is to be considered as fortunate ; and that *one* who has produced *it* by dishonesty, as evil-conditioned.'

CHAPTER LI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore *is it* when there are *instances* when a lazy, ignorant, and bad man attains to eminence and great welfare, (3) and there are *instances* when a worthy, wise, and good man attains to grievous misery, perplexity, and indigence?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : '*As to* him who is a lazy, ignorant, and bad man, when his destiny becomes a helper, that laziness of his then becomes like unto diligence, that ignorance unto² knowledge, and that vileness unto² goodness.

6. And *as to* him who is a wise, worthy, and good man, when his destiny is an opponent, that wisdom of his then turns to stupidity and foolishness (ala-kīh), and that worthiness to ignorance ; (7) and *his*

¹ Nêr. reads *vahēza* and translates 'new year's day.'

² L19 has 'like unto' in all three clauses.

knowledge, skill, and worthiness become manifestly secluded¹.

CHAPTER LII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How is it necessary to perform the ceremonial of the sacred beings and the thanksgiving for the welfare which is owing to the sacred beings? 3. *And* how is the renunciation of *sin* to be performed for the preservation of the soul?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'That ceremonial of the sacred beings is good which they perform in this pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 6. Its origin, also, is goodness and truth, and freedom from doubt in the sacred beings. 7. And for the little and the much that has come *there has* arisen thanksgiving unto the sacred beings; and *one* is to meditate upon the gratifications (sh nû-makân) and prosperity which are owing to the sacred beings and to keep grateful². 8. And even when perplexity and misery come on from Aharman and the demons, *he* is not to become doubtful as to the treasure of the sacred beings, (9) and not to diminish the thanksgiving unto the sacred beings. 10. And every disaster which springs up *he* is to give back³ to the violence of Aharman and the demons. 11. *He* is not to seek his own welfare and advantage through the injury of any one else; (12) and he

¹ See Chap. XV, 6n. Nêr. has in Sans. 'are manifest in immobility.'

² The Pâzand version omits the latter half of this section, and also uses the present tense instead of the infinitive in several of the following sections.

³ Perhaps 'trace back' may be meant, but this is uncertain.

becomes compassionate as regards the creatures of Aûharmazd. 13. In duty and good works *he* is diligent and striving¹; (14) *and* especially in the care of water and fire² *he* is to persevere much. 15. And *he* is to be without doubt as to this, that, except happiness, the sacred beings do not then³ give anything whatever, *as* a modification⁴ of it, unto men; and Aharman and the demons, except misery, do not then³ give them any happiness.

16. 'For the existence of renunciation *of sin* the special thing is this, that *one* commits no sin voluntarily; (17) and if, through folly, or weakness and ignorance, a sin occurs, he is then in renunciation *of sin* before the high-priests and the good. 18. And after that, *when*⁵ he does not commit *it*, then that sin which is committed by him becomes thus a sweeping (êsvârakö)⁶ from his body; (19) just as the wind which is hasty and mighty, when it comes swift and strong, sweeps so over the plain that it carries away every single blade of grass (g'iyâyâkîka-kö-1) and anything which is broken *in* that place.'

CHAPTER LIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How are the homage and glorifying of the sacred beings to be performed?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus:

¹ L19 has 'he acts diligently and strivingly.'

² L19 adds 'and plants.'

³ Reading êdînas; Nêr. has misread ainâ, 'otherwise.'

⁴ Reading gvîdarîh; Nêr. has misread vatarî, 'an evil.'

⁵ L19 has 'too,' and K43 omits the word.

⁶ Misread avâz, 'away,' by Nêryôsang.

'Every day three times, standing opposite the sun and Mitrô¹, as they proceed together², (5) and³ the moon and fire of Vâhrâm⁴, or the fire of fires⁵, in like manner, morning, noon, and evening, homage and glorifying are performed, (6) and *one has* become grateful⁶. 7. And if a sin, or a deficiency (frôd-mând-î)⁷, *has* occurred, especially⁸ as regards the angels of the spiritual and worldly *existences*, men and beasts *of burden*⁹, oxen and sheep, dogs and the dog species, and other creatures and creations of Aûhar-mazd the lord, (8) *one* is to become sorrowful, penitent, and in renunciation *of sin* before the sun and Mitrô, the moon and the fire of Aûhar-mazd¹⁰; (9) and, for the sake of atonement *for* the sin, good works are to be practised as much as is well possible.'

CHAPTER LIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore *is it* when an ignorant man—when they bring advancement to him—considers the learning

¹ The angel of the sun's light (see Chap. II, 118 n).

² L19 adds 'homage and glorifying are to be performed;' but this is unnecessary.

³ L19 inserts 'opposite.'

⁴ The sacred fire (see Chap. XXXVI, 9 n).

⁵ A fire in which the remnants of all other fires are deposited from time to time.

⁶ We ought probably to read '*one* is to perform homage and glorifying, and to be grateful.'

⁷ L19 omits 'or a deficiency.'

⁸ Reading fraêstô; Nêr. reads pargast and translates 'somewhat.'

⁹ L19 omits the 'beasts *of burden*.'

¹⁰ These are four out of the five existences to which the daily Nyâyises or supplications are addressed.

and advancement of the wise and good mostly so¹, through greediness, that to teach *it* to him is difficult?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘For this reason, because the ignorant man considers, in thought, his own ignorance as good as the sage *does*, in thought, his own knowledge.’

CHAPTER LV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘Wherefore is he who is an ill-natured man no friend of the good, *nor* an untalented man of a talented *one*?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘For this reason, because he who is an ill-talented² man is *at* [all]³ times *in* fear of the talented, (5) lest “they should trouble⁴ us by *their* skill and talent, and, owing to that circumstance, shame *may* come upon *us* before the good and *our* opponents.”

6. ‘And the ill-natured are no friends of the good for this reason, because *there* is a time for their annihilation and destruction by the hands of the good.’

¹ L19 has ‘such vexation,’ by reading bêsh instead of vês.

² L19 has ‘untalented.’

³ K43 omits ‘all,’ and its text may be translated thus:—‘because the position of him who is an ill-talented man is *in* danger from the talented.’

⁴ Reading aê rangênd. Nêr. has the doubtful reading airôzî-nênd, ‘they enlighten,’ and also several other variations, so as to produce the following meaning:—‘lest “these enlighten *others* by the skill and talent which are not mine,” and shame come upon him before the good and *his* helpmates.’

CHAPTER LVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore are these mountains and rivers¹ made, which are in the world?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Of these mountains, which are in the world, there are *some* which are moderators of the wind, and there are *some* which are² warders off; (5) there are *some* which are the place and vent, the resting-place and support of the rainy cloud; (6) and there are *some* which are smiters of Aharman and the demons, and maintainers and vivifiers of the creatures and creation of Aûharmazd, the lord.

7. 'And these rivers, which are in the world, the creator Aûharmazd has formed, from the borders of Albûrz³, for providing the protection and *for* the vivification of his own creatures and creation.'

CHAPTER LVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore *is it* when the knowledge and sagacity of the spiritual and worldly *existences*, both united, are connected with thee?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'For this reason, because, from the first, I, who am the innate wisdom, *apart* from the spiritual and worldly existences, have been with Aûharmazd. 5. And

¹ Or it may be 'seas,' as the Sanskrit version translates the word, both here and in § 7, but this hardly agrees with the context.

² L19 omits these five words.

³ See Chap. XLIV, 16 n.

the creator Aûharmazd created (âfrîdō) the angels of the spiritual and worldly creations, and all the other creatures and creations through the power and mightiness, the wisdom and sagacity of innate wisdom; and I produce ¹ and he maintains and stimulates *them*. 6. And at the end of the renovation of the universe it is possible to cause the annihilation and destruction of Aharman and his miscreations more fully by the power of wisdom; (7) and Sôshâns ², with Kaî-Khûsrôî ², and those who cause the resurrection and future existence are able to act more fully, by means of the power and help of wisdom.

8. 'The knowledge and sagacity of the worldly existence, the learning and teaching in ³ every profession, and all advancement of temporal beings ⁴ are through wisdom. 9. The souls of the righteous, in escaping from hell ⁵ and coming ⁶ to heaven and the supreme heaven (garôdmân), arrive much better by means of the power and protection of wisdom. 10. And it is possible to seek the good living, pleasure, good repute, and every happiness of people in the worldly existence, through the power of wisdom.

11. 'And the maintenance of the seeds of men

¹ So in K43, but Nêr. has taken this verb in the third person, in place of the nearly synonymous âfrîdō, so as to state that the creator 'created, maintains, and stimulates the angels' and all other existences through the power of innate wisdom. The object of the Pahlavi text, however, seems to be to emphasize the fact that the creation was specially due to the innate wisdom of the creator, while its maintenance is dependent on all his powers and attributes.

² See Chaps. II, 95, XXVII, 63.

³ L19 has 'of.'

⁴ L19 has 'times.'

⁵ That is, in escaping from the risk of being sent to hell.

⁶ L19 omits 'and coming.'

and beasts *of burden*, oxen and sheep, and also every other creature and creation of Aûhar¹mazd, the lord, the seating¹ of *them* in the womb, and making manifest what is their food in the womb, so that they shall not die from hunger and thirst, and the allotment and maturing of the limbs are effected² more fully by means of the durability (dôrângarih) and great potency which are in the force³ of wisdom.

12. 'The arrangement of the earth and the mingling of the water in the earth, the growth and increase of plants, colour of various kinds, and the scent, taste, and pleasantness of various things are allotted and produced more fully through wisdom.

13. And the arrangement of Albûrz⁴ around the world, the manifestation of the earth of the seven regions⁵ and the sky above the mountain of Albûrz, the motion of the sun and moon and twelve constellations⁶, the six times of the season festivals (gâsân bâr)⁷, the five times *devoted* to the guardian spirits (fravardîkân)⁸, the heaven which is in the place of good thoughts, the place of good words, the place of good deeds, and the perfect supreme

¹ Nêr. has read shâyastan, 'possibility,' instead of nishâstanô, 'seating.'

² Reading vâdûnî-hênd. L19 has 'are possible to effect.'

³ L19 has 'by means of the great potency and force.'

⁴ See Chap. XLIV, 16 n.

⁵ See Chap. IX, 2 n.

⁶ The signs of the zodiac, whose apparent movement, due to the motion of the earth, is here alluded to.

⁷ See Chap. IV, 5 n.

⁸ The five supplementary days, named after the five Gâthas or sacred hymns, which follow the twelfth month in order to complete the Parsi year of 365 days. Together with the five preceding days they are specially devoted to the homage of the guardian spirits or Fravashis.

heaven (*garôdmân*) of all gloriousness¹, the path of the spirits and worldly *existences*, and the *Kindvar* bridge² are produced and allotted through the power of wisdom.

14. 'The watery-looking³ cloud's seizing water from the sea, advancing in the atmosphere, and gradually breaking away⁴, drop by drop, to the earth, and *Aûhar mazd*'s⁵ creatures' thoroughly understanding the nature of heaven and hell, the compassion of *Aûhar mazd*, the archangels, and other angels as regards their own creatures, and the devastation and destructiveness of Aharman and the demons as regards the creatures of *Aûhar mazd* it is possible to comprehend through the more complete power⁶ of wisdom. 15. And the good religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers, the sayings and teaching of the spirits⁷, and the demons' demolishing the worldly body *and* making *it* imperceptible by the sight of men are apprehended⁸ more fully by means of the most perfect means of wisdom. 16. And even the struggle and warfare of *Irân* with foreigners (*an-aîrân*), and the smiting of Aharman and the demons it is possible to effect through the power of wisdom.

¹ The four grades of heaven (see Chap. VII, 9-12).

² See Chap. II, 115 n. By omitting 'and' Nêr. identifies this bridge with the path mentioned before it, but it forms only one portion of the path to the other world.

³ Assuming that *mâ-vênakô* stands for *mayâ-vênakô*.

⁴ Pahl. *vîkhtanô* is more probably connected with Pers. *kîkhtan*, 'to break,' than with Pers. *pîkhtan*, 'to sift.'

⁵ The Sanskrit version adds 'and Aharman's.'

⁶ L19 has 'more fully through the power.'

⁷ L19 has 'worldly *existences*.'

⁸ Reading *girî-hastô*. L19 has 'are effected.'

17. 'To occasion the sun's inspection of the hidden water also, below the earth, it is expedient to convey *it* for tillage and cultivation, and the advantage, comfort, and enjoyment of men and beasts *of burden*, oxen and sheep, through the power of wisdom. 18. The thorough understanding of the pain and sickness of men and beasts *of burden*, oxen, sheep, and other animals, and the bringing of medicine and remedies, health of body and comfort unto them are much more possible to effect¹ by means of the power of wisdom.

19. 'And *as to* every man whose participation in wisdom is much, his share of heaven is then much more. 20. Even *as to* Vistâsp², Zaratûst³, Gâyô-mard⁴, and those others whose share of heaven *was* much the more⁵, *it was* on account of the much coming of wisdom unto them. 21. And *as to* Yim, Frêdûn, Kâi-Ûs⁶, and those other rulers who obtained splendour (*vargô*) and mightiness (*tagakîh*)⁷ from the sacred beings—just as the participation of Vistâsp and other rulers in the religion occurred⁸—and their not attaining to the religion, and also as to the *times* when they have become ungrateful unto their own lord⁹, *it was* on account of the little coming of wisdom unto them.

22. 'And Aharman, also, and the demons deceive that man more, and lead *him* to hell, who is poorer

¹ L19 omits 'to effect.'

² See Chap. XIII, 14 n.

³ See Chap. I, 10 n.

⁴ See Chap. XXVII, 2 n.

⁵ L19 has 'who more fully obtained a share of heaven.'

⁶ See Chap. VIII, 27, where all three are mentioned.

⁷ L19 has 'opulence.'

⁸ This clause occurs only in K43.

⁹ They all three suffered misfortunes in their old age, attributed by the priesthood to neglect of religion, which is here traced to diminution of intellect.

of wisdom and unsteadier in disposition. 23. And *it* is manifest, that, unto *him* who is virtuous in disposition, habit, and demeanour¹, praise is then *due*, owing to his maintenance of wisdom. 24. For *it* is declared, that Aharman shouted to Zaratûst thus²: "If thou desist from this good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, then I *will* give thee a thousand years' dominion of the worldly *existence*, (25) as *was* given to the Vada-kân³ monarch Dahâk⁴." 26. On account of complete wisdom, the virtuous disposition and demeanour of Zaratûst not *having* hearkened and not being deluded, he did not become deceived and longing through that temptation of the accursed evil *one*, the wicked⁵. 27. And he spoke to Aharman (28) thus: "I *will* shatter and cause to run (dûkânâ)⁶, and *will* make downcast (nigûtsâr) for thee⁷, the bodies of your demons and fiends, wizards and witches, through the Hôma⁸ and sacred twigs⁹, and the good, true

¹ L19 has 'virtuous in disposition and virtuous of demeanour.'

² This is stated, in other words, in Vend. XIX, 23-32.

³ As Vada-k is said (Dd. LXXII, 5) to have been the mother of Dahâk, this term may be a matronymic implying 'son of Vada-k.'

⁴ See Chap. VIII, 29 n.

⁵ This section is a good deal altered in the Pâzand version, but the general meaning is the same.

⁶ L19 has *va vânom*, 'and I *will* smite.'

⁷ L19 has 'and *will* make withered (*nizâr*).'

⁸ A plant growing in Persia, small twigs of which are pounded in water, and the resulting juice is tasted by the priest during the ceremonial. It is a symbol of the mythic Hôma, the producer of immortality (see Chap. LXII, 28). Originally, no doubt, the Hôma (Av. haoma) and the Sans. soma were the same plant (see Dd. XLVIII, 16 n).

⁹ The baresôm (Av. baresma) is a bundle of slender twigs or wires, prepared in a particular manner; to be held in the left hand

religion which the creator Aûharmazd *has* taught to me." 29. Aharman, when those words *were* heard by him, became confounded and stupefied, and rushed to hell, and remained confounded a long time.

30. 'This, too, is declared, that Aûharmazd, when Aharman, by agreement¹, had further operated² with his (Aûharmazd's) creatures and creation of every kind, afterwards formed an assembly with the angels and archangels of every kind³, and the welfare (âvâdîh) due to his own wisdom *was* mentioned and recounted by him.

31. 'This, too, is declared, that *for* the nine thousand years of renovation⁴, until the resurrection and future existence, wisdom maintains and stimulates the creatures and creation of every kind.

32. 'And this, too, is declared, that, *as to* him who is an ignorant and bad-tempered man, when he attains even to much eminence, opulence, and authority, even then he is not fit to elevate into that welfare and authority.'

of the priest while reciting certain parts of the liturgy (see Dd. XLIII, 5 n).

¹ The covenant between the good and evil spirits, by which their conflict was limited to nine thousand years (see Bd. I, 18, 19).

² That is, transformed and vitiated them. The Av. *frâkerentad* (Vend. I, 7), describing the modifying work of the evil spirit upon the creation, is here expressed by *frâgō vâdûnd*.

³ Such an assembly is mentioned in Vend. II, 42, but its proceedings are not stated.

⁴ So in all versions, but, as the renovation is generally considered as confined to the end of the nine thousand years, we ought perhaps to transpose the words and read '*for* the nine thousand years, until the renovation, resurrection, and future existence.'

CHAPTER LVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore *is it* when *one* turns the ignorance and foolishness of an ignorant king back to knowledge and cleverness, on account of the sovereignty which is his ; (3) and, *as to* a poor man, who is wise¹, *one* turns the knowledge and sagacity, which are his, back to foolishness and uselessness, on account of the poverty ?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : 'On account of the deceit and violence of the fiend² of greediness (6) men utter more words as to the manliness of every one whose wealth and power are more, and recount *his* deeds and actions more fully ; (7) but, in the eyes of the angels and archangels, a poor *man* who is innocent and wise is better and more precious than a king *or* opulent *man*³ who is ignorant.'

CHAPTER LIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What are the vices of priests ? 3. What are the vices of warriors ? 4. What are the vices of husbandmen ? 5. And what are the vices of artizans⁴ ?'

6. The spirit of wisdom answered (7) thus : 'The vices of priests are heresy, covetousness, negligence,

¹ L19 adds 'and innocent.'

² L19 has 'demon.'

³ L19 has 'than an opulent king.'

⁴ Literally 'the well-endeavouring,' the lowest of the four classes of the community here mentioned (see also Chaps. XXXI, XXXII).

trafficking (sûḍakîh)¹, attention to trifles, and unbelief in the religion.

8. 'The vices of warriors are oppression, violence, promise-breaking, unmercifulness (an-avôkhshâgâ-vandîh), ostentation (dakhshîh)², haughtiness, and arrogance.

9. 'The vices of husbandmen are ignorance, enviousness, ill-will, and maliciousness.

10. 'And the vices of artizans are unbelief, want of thanksgiving, improper muttering of prayers, moroseness, and abusiveness.'

CHAPTER LX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Of mankind which are more 'conversant with good and evil?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Of mankind *he* whose sojourn³ and business are with the bad⁴, and they provide him a name for good repute and goodness, is the man more conversant with good. 5. And he whose sojourn and business are with the good⁵, and they provide him a name for disrepute, is the man more conversant with evil.

6. 'Because it is said, (7, 8) that whoever joins with the good brings good with *him*, and whoever

¹ Or, perhaps, 'usuriousness.' The Sanskrit version has 'laziness,' as if Nêr. had read âsûḍakîh.

² Nêr. has read gahî, and translated 'incontinence.'

³ Reading nisastô. L19 has 'whose business is most (vêst-ast), both here and in § 5.

⁴ L19 has 'the good.'

⁵ L19 has 'the bad.'

joins with the bad *brings*¹ evil—(9) just like the wind which, when it impinges on stench, is² stench, (10) and when it impinges on perfume, is perfume,—(11) *it* is, therefore, notorious³, (12) that he whose business is with the good receives good, (13) and *he* whose business is with the bad *receives*⁴ evil; (14) but, even then, both are to be considered as an experiment (aûzmâyisnô)⁵.

CHAPTER LXI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Which is the chief of men? Which is the chief of women? 3. Which is the chief of horses? Which is the chief of flying creatures? 4. [Which is the chief of oxen?]⁶ Which is the chief of wild animals? Which is the chief of grains?'

5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus: 'The man who is wise, who is steadfast in the religion, who is well-praising, who is true-speaking is chief over *his* associates.

¹ L19 has 'will bring with *him*' in both clauses, but the repetition is unnecessary in Pahlavi.

² L19 has 'will bring with *it*,' both here and in § 10.

³ L19 has 'proper to know.'

⁴ K43 does not repeat this verb.

⁵ L19 has 'by the result (anzâmesn).' The meaning is that, though a man's character is generally in accordance with the company he keeps, this must not be assumed without proof; and when the contrary is the case, as stated in §§ 4, 5, his own disposition must be of a very decided nature. Nêryôsang seems to have misunderstood the author's argument, and, supposing §§ 6–13 to contain a mere illustration of §§ 4, 5, he considered it necessary to transpose 'the bad' and 'the good' in §§ 4, 5, so as to make the illustration applicable.

⁶ K43 omits the question in brackets.

7. 'The woman who is young¹, who is properly disposed, who is faithful, who is respected, who is good-natured, who enlivens the house, whose modesty and awe are virtuous, a friend of her own father and elders², husband and guardian, handsome and replete with animation³ is chief over the women who are her own associates.

8. 'The ox which is glorious, which is tall-eared, which has a herd *of cows* is chief over oxen.

9. 'The *Kîharâv*⁴ is the chief of birds. 10. The horse which is swift⁵ is the chief of horses. 11. The hare⁶ is the chief of wild animals; *and* wheat⁷ is the chief of grains.'

CHAPTER LXII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'In what place stands Kangdez? 3. Where is the enclosure formed by Yim constructed⁸? 4. In what

¹ L19 has 'talking, eloquent.'

² Nêr. translates *nîyâk* by 'father's brother,' an elder who is considered as a special protector in India.

³ Reading *namag-âkûn*, which epithet is omitted in L19.

⁴ A name of the *Karsipt*, who is said to be the chief of birds in this world (Pahl. Visp. I, 1, Bd. XXIV, 11), the *Vis Karsipta* who brought the religion to the enclosure formed by Yim (see Vend. II, 138, 139), and which is said, in the Pahlavi version, to be 'a *Kahâr-vâk* (or *Kahâr-nâk*) who goes back into the existence of the spirits.' To determine the meaning of this name (which Nêr. translates by Sans. *kakravâka*, 'Brahmany duck') we have to consider not only the two forms *kîharâv* and *kahârvâk*, but also the term *kark*, 'falcon,' used in Bd. XXIV, 11. The *kâm-rôs* of Bd. XIX, 15, XXIV, 29 (the *kînâm-rôs* of Chap. LXII, 40) is also said to be the chief of birds, but probably mythic birds are meant.

⁵ L19 has 'white,' as in Bd. XXIV, 6.

⁶ See Bd. XXIV, 9.

⁷ See Bd. XXIV, 19.

⁸ L19 omits 'constructed.'

place lies¹ the body of Sâhm? 5. Where is the abode of Srôsh? 6. *In* what place stands the three-legged ass? 7. Where is the Hôrn grown, the preparer of the dead, with which they restore the dead and produce the future existence? 8. In which place is² Gôpaitôshah? 9. With what work is the Kar fish intrusted? 10. Where has the griffon bird a nest (âsîyân)³? 11. *In* what place sits K'inâmrous, and what is his work?

12. The spirit of wisdom answered (13) thus: 'Kangdez⁴ is intrusted with the eastern quarter, near to Satavâyês⁵, (14) on the frontier of Airân-vêgô⁶.

15. 'The enclosure formed by Yim⁷ is constructed in Airân-vêgô, below the earth⁸. 16. And every species and seed of all the creatures and creations of Aûnah mazd, the lord, whatever is better and more select of man and beast *of burden, of cattle and flying creatures* is brought thither⁹. 17. And every forty years one child is born from one woman and one man¹⁰ who are of that place; (18) their life,

¹ L19 has 'remains.'

² L19 has 'remains.'

³ L19 has 'a resting-place.'

⁴ See Chap. XXVII, 58, 62.

⁵ Av. Satavaêsa, the western leader of the stars and special opponent of the planet Anâhîd (Venus), which may, perhaps, be identified with Antares (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1), though Geiger (Ost Kul. p. 313) thinks Vega more probable. It also protects the southern seas, and its name is applied to the gulf of 'Umân in that direction (see Bd. XIII, 9-13, Zs VI, 16, 18). But its connection with the east, as implied in our text, requires explanation, and throws some doubt upon the reading.

⁶ See Chap. XLIV, 17-23.

⁷ See Chap. XXVII, 27-31.

⁸ So stated in Bd. XXXII, 5, and probably meaning that its position could no longer be discovered on earth. Bd. XXIX, 14 states that it is in the middle of Pârs, below Mount Yimakân.

⁹ See Vend. II, 106-113.

¹⁰ Perhaps we should understand 'from each woman and each

too, is three hundred years¹, (19) and their pain and disturbance are little².

20. 'The body of Sâhm³ is in the plain of Pê-sândas⁴, near to Mount Dimâvand⁵. 21. And on that plain, except corn and the eatable things they sow and reap *and* live upon, there is not so much as a single other tree⁶, *or* shrub, *or* plant; (22) and its golden colour is mostly wormwood⁷. 23. And the angels and archangels have appointed 99,999 guardian spirits of the righteous as a protection for the body of Sâhm⁸, (24) so that the demons and fiends *may* not injure it.

25. 'The abode of Srôsh⁹ is mostly in Arzah¹⁰, and afterwards also in Savah and the whole world.

man,' that is, a couple of children from each couple, which would agree with Vend. II, 134.

¹ Pahl. Vend. II, 136 has 150 years.

² The characteristics mentioned in §§ 17-19 are ascribed to the whole of Airân-vêgô in Chap. XLIV, 25, 27, 32.

³ See Chap. XXVII, 49.

⁴ L19 has Pust Gustâspâ, 'the ridge of Vistâsp,' which appears, from Bd. XII, 18, 34, XVII, 8, to have been somewhere in the central desert of Persia. In Bd. XXIX, 7-9, 11 we are told that Sâm lies asleep in the plain of Pêsyânsaî (evidently the Pê-sândas of our text) in Kâvulistân, till he is waked hereafter to slay Dahâk, who escapes from Mount Dimâvand. This legend may have led to the perplexing juxtaposition of Pê-sândas and Dimâvand in our text, and the perplexity occasioned by this may have led Nêr. to substitute Pûst-î Vistâspân for the former name, as being nearer Dimâvand.

⁵ The highest peak of the modern Albûrz, in which Dahâk is said to be confined (see Bd. XII, 31).

⁶ Reading hânô drû-aê; L19 has han mûrd, 'another myrtle-bush.'

⁷ With yellow blossoms.

⁸ As stated in Fravardîn Yt. 61.

⁹ See Chap. II, 115.

¹⁰ The western region, as Savah is the eastern one (see Chap. XVI, 10).

26. 'The three-legged ass¹ sits² amid the sea Varkash³; (27) and *as to* water of every kind that rains on dead matter, the menstrual discharge, and other bodily refuse⁴, when it arrives at the three-legged ass, he makes every kind clean and purified, with watchfulness.

28. 'The Hô⁵, which is the preparer of the dead, is grown in the sea Varkash, in that which is the deepest place; (29) and 99,999 guardian spirits of the righteous are appointed *as* its protection⁶.

30. The Kar fish⁷, too, ever circles around it, and always keeps the frog and other noxious creatures away from it.

31. 'Gôpaitôshah⁸ is in Aîrân-vêgô, within the region of Khvanîras⁹. 32. From foot to mid-body *he* is an ox, and from mid-body to the top *he* is a man. 33. And *at* all times he sits on the sea-shore, (34) and always performs the ceremonial of the sacred beings, and pours holy-water into the sea. 35. On account of which¹⁰, through the pouring of that holy-water, innumerable noxious creatures in

¹ A prodigious monster of benevolent character, described in Bd. XIX, 1-12; possibly some local divinity.

² L19 has 'stands,' as is also stated in Yas. XLI, 28.

³ See Chap. XLIV, 15.

⁴ L19 adds 'and pollution.'

⁵ The white Hô⁵ or Gôkarn, the tree of immortality (see Bd. XVIII, 1, XXVII, 4). It is 'the preparer of the dead,' because the elixir of immortality is expected to be prepared from it at the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 25).

⁶ Those who watch over the sea Vouru-kasha (see Fravardîn Yt. 59).

⁷ Ten such fish, of enormous size and intense watchfulness, are said to be employed to protect the Gôkarn from a lizard or frog sent by Aharman to injure it (see Bd. XVIII, 2-6).

⁸ See Chap. XLIV, 35n.

⁹ See Chap. XXVII, 40.

¹⁰ L19 omits these four words.

the sea will die. 36. Because, if he does not specially perform that celebration of the ceremonial, and does not pour that holy-water into the sea—where those innumerable noxious creatures shall utterly perish¹—then, whenever the rain shall rain, the noxious creatures *have* to rain just like rain.

37. 'The nest of the griffon bird² is on the tree opposed to harm, the many-seeded³. 38. Whenever he rises aloft a thousand twigs will shoot out from that tree, (39) and when he alights he breaks off the thousand twigs and bites the seed from them. 40. And the bird *Kînâmrous*⁴ alights likewise *in* that vicinity; (41) and his work is this, that he collects those seeds which are bitten from the tree of many seeds, which is opposed to harm, and he scatters (*pargandêd*) *them* there where *Tistar*⁵ seizes the water; (42) so that, while *Tistar* shall seize the water, *together* with those seeds of a¹ kinds, he shall rain *them* on the world with the rain⁶.'

¹ L19 has 'and those innumerable noxious creatures do not utterly perish.'

² The *Sênô-mûrûv* (Av. *saên*⁵ *mereghô*) or *Simurgh*, a mythic flying creature said to suckle its young and to be of three natures like the bat (see Bd. XIV, 11, 24, XIX, 18).

³ L19 has 'of all seeds.' This tree, from which all wild plants are supposed to spring, is said to grow in the sea near the *Gôkarn* tree, and also in *Aîrân-vêgô* (see Bd. IX, 5, 6, XVIII, 9, XXVII, 2, XXIX, 5).

⁴ The chief of mythic birds next to the *Sênô-mûrûv*; he is said to defend *Irân* from invasion by occasionally picking up foreign districts like grains of corn (see Bd. XIX, 15, XXIV, 29).

⁵ The angel who personifies the star *Tistar* (*Sirius*, see Chap. XLIX, 5; 6), after a conflict with the demons of drought and thunder (see Bd. VII, 1-13), pours down rain from the cloud, in which he had brought the water from the sea.

⁶ Originally, the archangel *Amerodad* (see Chap. II, 34) is said

CHAPTER LXIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which is that good work which is greater and better¹ than [all²] good works, and no trouble (angīnakō) whatever is necessary for its performance³ ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'To be grateful in the world, (5) *and* to wish happiness for every one. 6. This is greater and better than every good work, and no commotion (angegīnakō) whatever is necessary for its performance⁴.'

Peace and prosperity⁵.

to have mingled the plants with the rain (see Bd. IX, 2) ; but afterwards this was done by the mythic bird (see Bd. XXVII, 3). This legend was evidently intended to account for the rapid appearance of wild plants after rain in dry climates, where all traces of vegetation often disappear during the summer droughts.

¹ L19 inserts 'more valuable and more advantageous.'

² K43 omits 'all.'

³ L19 has 'no trouble and expense are necessary in it.'

⁴ This reply is much altered by Nêr. and stands as follows, in L19 :—'To wish happiness for every one ; (5) to be grateful unto the sacred beings and the good ; (6) in every position and time to consider and keep in remembrance Aûharmazd, as regards creativeness, and Aharman, as regards destructiveness ; (7) and to be without doubt as to the existence of the sacred beings, the religion and soul, heaven and the account in the three *days*, and the reality of the resurrection and future existence. 8. This, most especially, is the good work which is greater and better, more valuable and more advantageous than all good works, and no trouble and expense are necessary in it.'

The text of all versions ends abruptly at this point, without any peroration.

⁵ Only in K43.

